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CURRENTS

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

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***"THE FOURTH R?"
RACISM AND EDUCATION***

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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

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Education For A Multicultural Society

— Not Multicultural Education

WE HAVE BEEN INUNDATED over the last few years with such a plethora of rhetoric, with so many differing philosophies and approaches to multiculturalism that the term no longer has any precise meaning. Amongst all this verbiage, and perhaps because of it, it seems to be difficult to find a philosophy and practice of education that not only attempts to reflect a multiracial society but also attempts to combat the effects of racism. This issue of *Currents* is an attempt to begin to remedy this failing.

There appears to be an increasing suspicion that multiculturalism, in all its confusion, may be a subtle way of appearing to give members of minority groups what they want in education, while in reality, as Brian Bullivant has suggested¹, it gives them little that will enhance their life chances, because a great deal of multicultural education emphasises only life-styles, as a safe, bland and politically neutral panacea.

Multicultural or Anti-Racist Education?

Is one being overly pessimistic in thinking that the multicultural education initiatives that have been pursued in this country have done little to address the structural inequalities faced by non-whites in Canada? Are they merely tinkering with educational methods and techniques while leaving unaltered the whole racist structure of the educational system. Has ethnicity masked the problem of racism and weakened the struggle against it? Has the educational system itself come to be seen as an adjustment process within a racist society and not as a force for changing the values that make that society racist?

We seem to be quite willing to talk about dress, diet and unfamiliar customs, but not about race. We are quite prepared to enjoy a pleasant international flavour to education, but we can't talk about hate, oppression, class, poverty, prejudice and discrimination.

Racial Equality Will Not Be Achieved Merely By the Recognition of Cultural Diversity

Beyond all the rhetoric and platitudes, beyond the cosy, vacuous confection that multiculturalism has too often become, educators must move to more forthright commitment to an understanding and awareness, not of different life-styles, but of how to combat different life-chances that have been determined solely on the basis of race.

TIM REES

1. Brian Bullivant "The Pluralist Dilemma in Education — Six Case Studies" 1981

Fight Racism Starting With the School! *

Esmeralda Thornhill

Racial discrimination does exist in Canada, and, it follows at School. This sad reality is indelibly written on to the daily agenda of every Black, Asian and Native pupil who, as notes Daniel Hill, is systematically subjected to an education "based on the knowledge, the culture and the values of White and mainly urban middle class".¹

This pupil is thus exposed to clearly discriminatory educational practices which, like "a multitude of tireless voices, tell him loudly and softly that he is intellectually, emotionally, physically and morally inferior".²

And so, it behooves us to take a strong stand against ever-present racism, as affirmed recently by Chief David Ahenahew of the Assembly of First Nations.

We must first recognize the existence of racism. Limiting ourselves to expressions of compassion for the victims of racism without taking a stand or making a commitment to stem it, is tantamount to skirting the problem. Limiting ourselves to feeling sorry for the victims of racism without denouncing it and seeking ways to eliminate it, is tantamount to dodging the issue. Pretending to be *colour-blind in the face of the hardships* encountered by young Asian, Native and Black youngsters, and professing not to perceive any difference in treatment, is still tantamount to side-stepping the problem.

Racist labels

The refusal to recognize racism is part and parcel of a "wilful blindness" which also spurs us on to execute some veritable gymnastic feats of the mind, all aimed, once again, at avoiding the problem. Thus, we have run off a whole series of labels which, upon examination, turn out to be mere cover-ups for out-dated and cloying prejudices.

Expressions such as "culturally deprived", "culturally disadvantaged" and "culturally inferior" are clearly disparaging. They presuppose

that there exists only one unique code of ethics to which everyone should subscribe — that of the White middle class. The Haitian, Cree, or Vietnamese child, who obviously does not fit into this group, is perceived as being abnormal, different.

When we use the term "non-White", the underlying norm is "White". The Word "immigrant" refers to certain individuals relegated to the bottom rung of our social scale. An "immigrant" is different and his difference is a stamp of inferiority.

When we speak of "minorities" or "minority groups", we are alluding to those who "violate" the norm, those who live on the fringe of true society.

The term "ethnic group" or the more familiar expression, "the Ethnic", conveys the same biased message. Each one of us comes from an identifiable ethnic group. However, we so skillfully extricate ourselves from this rather dubious and cynical classification that we only lock in those whom we deem "different" from us.

As for "Cultural Communities", that elegant, chic and trendy term, one needs must ask: who is included? Or rather, who is excluded?

In short, despite our good intentions the terms with which we describe the problems of racial discrimination embody the same discriminatory concepts and values, and legitimize the very injustices and inequalities that they are trying to eradicate. Our terminological tools need therefore to be re-evaluated and corrected.

The role of educators

Our attitudes and our behaviour also. Up until today, have they helped to eliminate, or to reinforce racial discrimination?

And from today onwards, what will be my attitude toward the end of the afternoon, in the

* This article was first published by *Le Devoir*, Montréal, Canada, Friday, August 24, 1984 in a special series called: The Cultural Communities at School.

staff room, when a group of my colleagues are goofing around and exchanging racial jokes?

As a librarian, will I seek to identify those books which contain prejudices harmful to the development of a healthy self-concept in Black, Native Canadian and Asian youngsters?

As a member of my School Council, what kinds of training in Race Relations will I propose when we are planning our Professional Development days?

In my capacity as a school principal, how will I react to a sharp difference of opinion between a White teacher and a Black teacher over the work of a classic author? Will I merely label the problem as a "personality conflict"?

As a literature teacher, will I consider my professional authority flouted if a Grade XI student refuses to read Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, or objects vociferously to my use of the word "nigger"? What am I to do when one of my Black, Native Canadian, or Asian pupils hands me a letter from his parents forbidding me to subject him or her to a story such as *Les yeux bleus* (*The Blue Eyes*), or one of the *Tintin* adventures and asks me to assign him other reading matter in its stead?

On duty in the school cafeteria, will I look askance or not upon clusterings of Native Canadians, Haitians, Vietnamese, Jamaicans or Pakistanis?

What must I say to the young Third Grade Black girl who comes up to me in tears to complain that the other pupils are teasing her, are looking at her all the time, are poking fun at her, are calling her names, are excluding her from their group games, are uttering insults about her mother, are besmirching her desk with melted chocolate, are shoving her ...? Should I send her back to her seat with these words, "Don't pay them any mind, they don't mean anything?"

When a Native Canadian, Chinese or Guyanese pupil does not seem to be able to get into a work team, should I immediately conclude that this is admissible proof of his ineptness and stream him into the Remedial Class?

When Pakistani parents come crying racial discrimination, will I try to get rid of them as quickly as possible?

As a guidance counsellor, what will be my reaction in the face of the Amerindian or Trinidadian High School student, who, clearly confused, wishes to consult me concerning his future? On what path will I track him for the rest of his life?

Professor in a Faculty of Education, will I be able to justify the training we dispense to our future teachers as being the kind that will endow them with all the skills necessary in order to respond to their pupils' needs?

Federal civil servant, in charge of the funding of educational projects, what criteria should I observe, in respect to Race Relations, when grants are doled out?

Head of the monthly publications of a public or para-public agency, how will I go about contracting a study on racism? By public solicitation among members of the source communities involved? Or by automatically awarding the contract to a free-lancer who is "used to working for us?"

And, as a publisher of school material, how do I perceive my social responsibility in the field of Race Relations?

Whatever our profession — minister, civil servant, administrator, professor, building superintendant, publisher — each of us has an important role to play in the fight against racism and racial discrimination.

The public and private institutions — Ministry, School Board, School, Education Faculty, Union, Publishing House — have far weightier responsibilities to shoulder and they need must adopt and enforce strict anti-racist policies. This pre-supposes five pre-requisites:

1. Recognize and treat the problem

Racism does exist in our society and, it follows, in our schools. Let us stop looking for explanations that justify isolated, deviations of individual behaviour.

2. Wake up and be aware

It is a matter of determining the degree of personal and institutional participation which contributes to reinforcing racism. A critical assessment of attitude, behaviour and institutional practices, both individual and collective, is essential.

3. See and spell out racism in its true-to-life forms

Let us not skirt the issue of racism by utilizing an incorrect vocabulary, by trying to reduce it to a problem of being "socio-economically deprived", or by minimizing it in placing racial discrimination on the same footing as discrimination based on language, religion, cultural etc.

4. Guarantee an active and sustained participation of the victims at important decision-making levels

Time and time again, Native, Asian and Black Communities complain that consultations and studies are carried out, committees are set up, seminars are held, and spokesmen are named, without any involvement, direct or indirect, on their part, and even when their own interests are at stake. They wonder how policies that truly take their needs into account can be formulated?

5. Be rigorously consistent

We must be consistent. The adoption of an anti-racist policy implies putting in place a mechanism that will include rules, guidelines, financial, material and human resources, committees, methods of progressive and continuous evaluation, and strategies which recognize the existence of racism and which are geared to wiping it out.

In conclusion, we must recognize that in the face of racism, collectively and individually, we have our share of responsibility to fulfill the obligations of our social contract. Every single one of our acts is determinant on helping either to reinforce or wipe out racism.

Let us take action with unshakeable determination!

A jurist and pedagogue by training, Esmeralda Thornhill has been a Human Rights Educator with the Quebec Human Rights Commission for the past seven years.

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- 2 *Final Report on the Aspirations and Expectations of the Quebec Black Community Concerning Education*, submitted to the Quebec Superior Council of Education, Montreal: July 1978, p. 20.

The Ambiguities of Multicultural Education

Kogila A. Moodley

Much of the ambiguity surrounding the policy of multiculturalism also applies to multicultural education. It incorporates notions of cultural pluralism, special needs, and more recently, anti-racism as a means to change attitudes. Underlying these is the pervasive sense of cultural harmony which overlooks the prime goals of equality of opportunity and equality of condition.

A somewhat static conception of "culture" is implicit in most views of multicultural education. Culture is seen as a set of more or less immutable characteristics, attributable to different groups of people. These are used to identify people and often produce stereotypes, contrary to intention. (Rosen, 1977). The notion of culture which the Royal Commission's Book IV (1969:11) espouses as an afterthought under the heading "The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups" in 1969, reveals a lyrical fiction that bears little resemblance to minority reality. "Culture", the Commission waxes, "is a way of being, thinking and

feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by common tongue and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences."

If one takes the public definition of the two most stigmatized ethnic minorities in Canada, Native people and "East Indians", neither of the cultural attributes fits their experience. Native people are neither united by indigenous language nor customs and habits. So-called Indo-Canadians, who arrived in Canada from four continents and as members of three world religions (Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam) and various subsects (Ismailis, Sikhs, Protestants), are even more split in the ideological lenses they use to interpret different experiences.

What unites all groups regardless of origin, is not an alleged common culture but common exposure to manifold discrimination and being an "outsider". It is this unifying experience of con-

flict with and uneasy accommodation to mainstream culture that unites the minorities. Past ideological formulas for making sense of a different social environment in precolonial America or post-colonial India offer little useful guide to coping with Canadian challenges apart from giving a sense of dignity to contrast with the low status in the country of adoption. Uncritical heritage maintenance per se can be a hindrance rather than a facilitator to meaningful survival. The cultural baggage of immigrants is continually examined for what is useful and meaningful in the new society and some aspects discarded as being culture-specific to another place and time. The outcome of this process amounts to a new ethnicity that has little in common with the reified notion that official multiculturalism intends to preserve nor is it identical with melting into a dominant mainstream.

The extension of welfare state provisions together with the much more diverse ethnic and occupational composition of immigrants since the late 1960's have created a new ethnicity in Canada. This is reflected in a much greater variety of responses on the part of newcomers and hosts alike that in turn amounts to a new Canadian cultural configuration for educational policy.

It is this dynamic aspect of culture which is everywhere visible and yet ignored. Seemingly homogeneous groups are in fact disparate, are at different stages of acculturation, are geographically dispersed, hail from different parts of the world, represent a tremendous array of regional, linguistic and religious difference. Above all they only seem unified by their goal of success in mainstream society. There are few societies which better illustrate Malinowski's argument that culture contact produces a third cultural reality for immigrants, which is neither the original nor the new host culture. (Malinowski, 1945:20-26).

The complex problem of perpetuating different cultural traditions within the school in a pluralistic configuration is evident. Foremost is the challenge to teachers as unauthentic agents of cultural transmission. Expecting teachers to communicate cultural content from highly complex cultures, without reifying, fragmenting and trivializing them to the ridiculous is not unproblematic. In many instances the value incongruence between mainstream teachers and those of other groups is a real barrier. This is not to deny the need for teachers to come to terms with their own ethnocentrism, and to have knowledge of the cultural backgrounds of their students. However,

as David Kirp (1979:132) points out, the paths to be avoided are a descent into mindless multiculturalism on the one hand and a determined effort to preserve the past for the sake of preservation.

Education about different cultures in schools need not imply a challenge to the hegemony of mainstream education. In South Africa, for example, ethnically based education has been used to limit the aspirations of subordinated groups. As Farrukh Dhondy and others have argued in Britain, about the history of the Raj in India, "Two hundred years of rule may have bred a complete understanding of Indian civilization, culture and habits, but this understanding did not alter the structure of Empire." (Stenhouse, et al, 1982:18). Similarly, Jones and Kimberley suggest that "uncritical use of multiculturalism has been seen as a way of defusing conflict and pacifying vocal members of affected minorities" (Tierney, 1982:144).

While knowledge of other cultures is important for teachers, on balance, it is clearly less important than the concern about race issues, and how racism permeates society and the school through teacher attitudes, negative racial images, racial bias in schools and society. (Affor, 1983:9). Teacher attitudes stand out as a crucial concern. Indeed an unbiased teacher working with biased materials within an ethnocentric curriculum may well be preferable to a biased teacher working with multiethnic learning materials and teaching ethnic history. (ibid:10). An insensitive and naive use of aspects of non-Western cultures that are non-functional in Canada can just as easily undervalue and ridicule heritages out of context, and thereby further entrench their second class status. As Kirp (1982:132) maintains, "It is in fusing what deserves to endure with the contribution of the present that the educational system will most effectively respond to issues of race."

Competence Not Culture is the Major Concern of Minority Group Parents.

On the whole, competence, not culture, is the major concern of minority group parents. While these are not mutually exclusive, it is foremost the mastery of modern as well as the retention of functional aspects of their own traditional knowledge to which they most aspire. The former serves their instrumental, survival needs which are a priority in the country of adoption; the latter, their expressive needs, for which they themselves assume responsibility. Whereas diverse cultural inclusion in the school curriculum is an important

device for raising self concept of minority children, the majority of minority parents see their children as educationally deprived rather than culturally deprived. In this respect, there has been a tendency to overstate low self-concept as a cause of minority children's failure (Stone, 1981; Musgrove, 1982). On the other hand, we overlook the fact that self concept emerges not only from cultural recognition but from being able to have greater mastery over one's life.

As my research among minority parents in B.C. has clearly shown, there is a preference for competence which overrides a concern for heritage. What most minority parents want for their children is not condescending teaching of fragmented, diluted versions of their culture, taught second hand by a non-authentic group member. They expect committed, demanding teaching aimed at mastery of the basic skills that are required to survive and succeed in the new home country. In many instances this was the prime reason for leaving the country of origin. Musgrove articulates a similar view for minorities in Britain. "What 'other cultures' want from us many would see as most worthy, distinguished, and indeed central in our educational tradition (though perhaps a little old-fashioned) — high moral teaching and good learning: a sense of values and a strenuous disciplined pursuit of knowledge ... The arguments are educational, the imperialism pedagogic." (Musgrove, 1982:180).

An example of this phenomenon is a B.C. school which established an enrichment program for Native Indian pupils. They were removed from regular classes to read from books containing native stories and illustrated entirely with Native peoples' pictures. In addition, twice a week older native community persons were invited to teach beadwork and net-mending. Several sympathetic teachers felt that the children who needed most attention were being shortchanged by a well intentioned effort. Such an instance shows all too clearly how unreal and ineffective such idealized conceptions of Native culture can turn out. They correspond to treatment outside the school gates, encapsulate and further disadvantage the students who need energetic efforts at mastering mainstream survival skills most. While such efforts may increase greater self respect toward a forgotten heritage in the short run, dysfunctional cultural survival shortchanges students' opportunities in the long run.

Along the same lines, Maureen Stone (1981)

points to "progressive" multicultural teaching as contributing to West Indian children's failure in adapting to child centred teaching and learning approaches. Quoting Gramsci, she stresses the need for minority children to acquire the dominant forms of knowledge in order to better challenge it.

In these instances, it is clear that cultural content in the school curriculum takes second place to other forces which stand in the way of academic achievement. The most successful communities are those which have taken cultural and religious education into their hands while entrusting public schools with the training for the marketplace.

What does this leave for schools to do with the multicultural curriculum? It does not preclude information and awareness of the cultural backgrounds of pupils, to better diagnose strengths and weaknesses, as well as differences in cognitive styles. It assumes provision for learning of heritage languages for all students who so choose. It still calls for active anti-racism awareness, examining teacher expectations, stereotyping and bias in school materials. It also calls for an appreciation of diversity in the curricula material which must be integrated thematically in a global perspective and not as an end in itself.

These basic achievement aspirations are the substance that all minority groups share, transcending the specific differences of country of origin, language, religious affiliation or race.

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Education, Ethnicity and Racism:

A European-Canadian Perspective

Chris Bagley

Introduction: European-Canadian Comparisons

Only in the 1950s did Canada develop an ideology of race and ethnic relations which was distinctly different from that of the white, Protestant English-speaking group which had dominated the Empire for a century.¹ Change took place because of new patterns of migration; the assertion of power by migrant groups from Southern and Eastern Europe and Ireland; and through the assertion of Francophone consciousness. Today Canada in its multicultural policies is a dramatically changed society, unique in its policies which coincide with (but which have not created) a society in which racism's impact seems, on the face of things, less dramatic than in many other ethnically mixed societies.

European comparisons make these Canadian developments seem even more interesting. For example, at one time Dutch race relations were regarded as the prime example of good practice: a very large number of ethnically different refugees from Indonesia had been successfully absorbed in the Dutch plural society, as had other minorities.² Yet in only a decade race and ethnic relations in the Netherlands deteriorated dramatically as large numbers of black Dutchmen arrived from Surinam and the Antilles, and the bonds of pluralism, coincidentally, began to crumble. The result has been the development of an alienated, despairing and rebellious black youth culture which could not be accommodated in Dutch society.³

The Dutch situation and its deterioration is worth stressing for it illustrates how a seemingly racist culture (as in the Canadian case) or a non-racist (as in the Dutch case) can change rapidly in relation to structural factors independently of policy formation and action by governments. Hubert Campfens of Wilfred Laurier University

illustrates this in his important comparative study of the "integration of ethno-cultural minorities" in Canada and the Netherlands.⁴ In his conclusion, Campfens points to an interesting paradox. Despite a strong tradition of central and local government involvement in everyday affairs, Dutch public policy has played a relatively small part in assisting the integration of minorities. Yet in Canada, which lacks a tradition of strong government involvement (within a laissez faire, capitalist mode) both federal and provincial levels of government have taken significant initiatives to foster elements of cultural autonomy through both policy and fiscal support.

The reasons for Dutch inaction are related to moral confusion in a declining capitalist society in which the structural cement provided by religious bonds has decayed. The ground for Canadian action can be traced to self-interest – a desire to palliate potentially disruptive minorities following radical accommodations to Francophone interest, and to the desire to incorporate minorities into a healthy capitalist economy. Canadian multicultural policy has developed in ways which obscure the lines of class and economic exploitation within a complex and seemingly attractive mosaic of vertical rather than horizontal stratification.⁵ Paradoxically too the accommodation of the cultural aspirations of diverse ethnic groups in Canada seems to be paralleled by a decline in ethnic commitment, as evidenced by an increase in inter-racial, inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriage.⁶

In truth, Canadian ethnic policies work because the population has been highly selected in terms of its commitment to the social relations required by capitalism. Canada is generally liberal in its treatment of the aspirations of ethnic and cultural minorities, but is racist in its policies to-

wards "illegal" citizens.⁷ Moreover, one ethnic group – the aboriginal peoples – are rigidly excluded from this multicultural policy, since Native cultural aspirations are fundamentally threatening to the capitalist aspirations of the white settlers, and those they have chosen to assist them in the exploitation of Canada's resources.⁸

For legal immigrants to Canada, committed to economic advancement within a capitalist framework, Canadian social structure offers many advantages. In this, Canada differs profoundly from Britain, where ethnic minorities are treated with discrimination rather than accommodation, despite their assimilationist aspirations.

In Britain, and to some extent in the Netherlands the frustration of legitimate aspirations of ethnic minority groups by a racist social structure has led to profound states of alienation.⁹ We can best illustrate this by the comparative study by the Jamaican social geographer, Elizabeth Thomas-Hope.¹⁰ Thomas-Hope compared the adjustment and satisfaction with achieving the goals of migration of similar groups of Caribbean migrants to Britain, Canada and the United States. She interviewed several hundred Caribbean respondents in London and other centres in U.K.; in New York, Hartford and Boston in the U.S.; and in Toronto and Hamilton in Canada. The highest levels of satisfaction with achieving the goals of migration were reported by West Indians in the U.S. centres, closely followed by those in Canada; but levels of satisfaction were dramatically lower in respondents in the U.K.

The goals of migration were quite simple: to advance occupationally and materially, and to achieve both for themselves and their children. These goals were most easily met in Canada and the U.S. which are "open" capitalist societies, used to accommodating the upwardly mobile aspirations of migrants in largely non-racist ways. Britain has no such tradition, and continues to discriminate against black people in jobs, housing, schools and colleges. The racism of the blue collar and many white collar segments in Britain is profound and deeprooted, and British people have still not accepted the reality that a significant minority of the British population consists of the previously-exploited colonial peoples, who now have the affrontery to compete directly with the indigenous population in the job and housing market.¹¹ This discrimination extends to the second and third generation of Caribbean settlers in Britain, in profound contrast to the United States (and to

some extent Canada) where second generation Caribbean migrants are largely absorbed into the black middle class, from whom they are indistinguishable.

In Britain, alienation and the knowledge that educational achievement is unlikely to bring success has led to two contrasted outcomes for minority youth. On the one hand, significant sectors of black youth have retreated from educational goals, and are labelled as "deviant" by teachers and the educational system;¹² on the other hand, significant numbers of Asian youth have become ritualistically attached to education and enroll in yet further courses to postpone the ultimate (and usually unsuccessful) job search.¹³

At an official level, British policy has passed through a variety of phases. The first phase (beginning around 1960) involved an unsuccessful assimilationist policy coupled with harsh immigration restrictions which specifically discriminated against people of colour and kept families divided, through a rigid immigration system. The second phase (since 1970) made the immigration system still harsher, but began to develop a "multicultural" policy which involved a limited and largely ineffective palliative directed to the accommodation of minority aspirations.¹⁴ But the central problems of racism and racial discrimination have not been addressed in British society, and with the advent of massive structural unemployment problems of racism have become significantly worse.¹⁵ The facile use of the terms "multiculturalism" and "pluralism" have ignored the gross imbalances of power between ethnic groups. A description of the separateness of ethnic groups as a plural condition without reference to imbalances of power is to mask the racism inherent in such a situation: the most extreme example of this is the South African case,¹⁶ but the separation and gross equality of aboriginal people in Canada comes uncomfortably close in similarity. We have recently proposed the concept of "interculturalism" rather than "multiculturalism" to accommodate this problem (taking due account of problems of power imbalance).¹⁷

We have become profoundly dissatisfied with the trivialization of the idea of multiculturalism by many British educational writers and practitioners: "multicultural education" has become for many a synonym for minor curriculum accommodations to the needs of some ethnic groups, without beginning to address the problems of racism, and the need to educate all ethnic groups

(including whites) for intercultural living in a non-exploitive world.

The Canadian Experience

We have argued that marked differences in the emerging social structure of Canada have meant that problems of race and ethnic relations are generally not so profound (or rather are different) from those observed in a number of European countries.

Canada, as a successful capitalist economy has an openness in its accommodation of immigrants (including ethnic minorities) who have been specially selected for their combination of professional experience, education, youth, linguistic ability, and their willingness to fit in with a social structure based on individuality and individual enterprise.¹⁸

Educational institutions in Canada, as the servants of the economy, generally socialize ethnic minorities, without overt discrimination, to undertake successful roles in a free enterprise system. Such a process of selection through careful immigration, education, socialization, and training for successful participation in a capitalist society has served the needs of the selected immigrants well, but it is not in an absolute sense fair or unbiased. The Canadian system leaves unchallenged the world's most profound system of stratification, that between rich and poor countries.¹⁹ Recruiting certain of the educated class from countries of Asia and the Caribbean is, for Canada a policy of self-interest, not of enlightenment. The recruitment of Vietnamese refugees is a case in point. Canada smartly entered the camps, and recruited younger, healthy, educated people who spoke French or English. Canada's "generous" quota of immigrants was rapidly filled.

The ideologies of Canadian social structure are implicit rather than explicit. The ruthless self-interest of Canadian capitalism is rarely discussed, and multicultural and immigration policies are either rarely analyzed, or are seen as autonomous and even enlightened aspects of policy development, without reference to their wider economic and social policy connections. Coy phrases such as "visible minorities" replace the harsher British emphasis on "racial minorities". Yet the question of who is a "visible minority" remains undefined and undiscussed in Canada. Is one a visible minority because of the possession of non Anglo-Celtish surname? If not, why not? Does minority status depend on the accura-

cy with which the average Canadian can pick you out in a crowd? Are children of mixed parentage "visible minorities"? If "visible minority" is a synonym for being black, why not say so?

Other issues fail to reach the multicultural agenda in Canada. We have little data on the educational achievement of ethnic minority students in Canada. The writer has been unsuccessful, for example, in persuading School Boards to identify students by ethnicity in a comparative study of self-concept and achievement.²⁰ The nature, extent and social and psychological correlates of prejudiced beliefs in young people, and the extent of which these might be changed by curriculum methods of school organization is largely unexplored in Canada.²¹ And we have no reliable or valid data on discrimination against ethnic minorities in Canada.²²

The most perplexing issue which is not on the agenda of Canadian ethnic relations is the massive exploitation of the conquered aboriginal nations,²³ the denigration and suppression of their culture, and an oppressive educational system which fails to address the cultural, affective or cognitive needs of Indian and Metis children.²⁴

Conclusions

In sum, Canada has apparently been relatively successful in absorbing certain highly selected immigrant groups whose aspirations fit in with the goals of a capitalist society, oriented to the fulfillment of individual needs for material advancement. However, full evidence to evaluate this proposition is lacking, largely because fundamental research and policy questions are not posed. Such radical questions, about Canadian ideologies on ethnicity, the exclusion of poor people from Canada, and the continued colonial exploitation of a dominated and excluded people within Canada, are not asked. The failure to ask these questions, we suggest, is an ideological matter, and relates to the presently unmasked nature of Canada's capitalist institutions. This silent ideological agenda may account too for the imprecise nature of multicultural policy in Canada, and the vagueness of official terms used to describe minority groups.²⁵

The aggressive and exploitive nature of settlement in Canada has been to the profound advantage of the white settlers, and the non-white minorities absorbed, through "multiculturalism", into the exploiting class. The exploitation of the

land and natural resources has been to profound disadvantage of the original inhabitants: their exclusion from both prosperity and autonomy, the denial of their land claims, and a continuation both directly and indirectly of a policy of cultural genocide against the aboriginal people is in our view the major but unaddressed issue in Canadian "race relations". It is no accident that the Ministry of Multiculturalism has no concern with, or responsibility to support aboriginal culture.

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Educational Strategies to Increase Racial Tolerance

Norman Buchignani

In coming years, educators increasingly will be called upon to address race relations issues.¹ The proportion of visible minority students in many school systems is already over 20% and continues to grow, with the consequence that race relations are an ongoing and increasingly significant fact of school life. Moreover, as various interest groups (both minority and otherwise) become more sensitive to racial problems or more vocal about their rectification they will automatically look to the schools for means through which prejudice and discrimination can be attacked; this springs almost mechanically from the general, if inaccurate perception that fighting discrimination is most effectively done through changing prejudicial attitudes. Visible minority groups all across Canada already consistently feel that the best route to foster racial tolerance is through educational programs and their demands on educators are on the rise.²

How should teachers and administrators respond to this challenge? Educational resources are finite. Moreover, the commitment of such resources to multicultural education, and within this to the process of increasing tolerance has been severely limited. In such a political climate, the dominant criterion for the adoption of a particular strategy to increase tolerance must be its effectiveness; in short, how well does it work and at what cost in scarce teaching, economic and political resources? Another basic criterion for selection refers to the practicality of a given strategy: can such a program actually be implemented, given other claims on the educational system and in the light of its existing structure?

Despite the importance of these constraints, it is a sad fact that most ongoing programs we find today in the schools aimed at broadening racial tolerance have been put together based on considerations far from these. Typically created in response to a felt need by local visible minority community spokespersons or by concerned teachers or administrators, the shape and expected

results of such programs have been primarily determined through reference to 'common sense' and basic social psychology. Rarely are these attempts at increasing tolerance evaluated for their effectiveness, nor are they often based on firm evidence of what does and does not work.³ The consequence is an unnecessary waste of scarce resources.

What can be said with certainty about what does and does not foster racial tolerance? I would like to take this opportunity to review the range of approaches which have been tried internationally, concentrating particularly on those which have been formally evaluated. I will begin with a few basic axioms — general truths to be considered when implementing such programs. I will then address the question of who to focus upon in such programs. I subsequently analyze a range of short-term, intervention strategies and their effects. This is followed by a discussion of strategies aimed at the long term modification of student and school worldviews towards the end of racial tolerance.

Basic Axioms

First, most of the types of programs which purport to affect tolerance attempt to do so through modifying values. To this, many educators object that in comparison with teaching facts, value education is difficult, impermanent and less certain of success. Were this argument true, education would not therefore be a very effective means to change racial attitudes. In fact, there is actually no empirical support for this point of view. Value education seems just as permanent and effective as teaching facts and this objection to race relations programs is therefore irrelevant. Of course, newly acquired values (like new facts) must be integrated into a supportive personal system of values and beliefs if they are to be retained permanently⁴; as a corollary, if fundamental inconsistencies exist between newly acquired values and what one holds to be true in related domains, it is the former which is

usually the victim when people try to eliminate the inconsistency.

This brings up a second point. Most programs used so far are short-term, isolated interventions into a curriculum and a social environment in the schools which have not been significantly modified to reflect values of racial and multicultural tolerance. No such project can have much effect in a milieu which contradicts its spirit, and the general education context therefore deserves very close attention.⁵ Indeed, one can go further and say that the ideal (but admittedly long term) route to racial tolerance is through changing very general value orientations towards humanity and social responsibility (as discussed later), rather than through a single-pronged, highly interventionist, explicit attack on racial values alone. In fact, I believe that it is unarguable that such large scale value change, as brought on through evolving curriculum materials, better classroom inter-group social relations, changed philosophies of education and by increasingly less ethnocentric and more universalistic Canadian views of human similarity and difference has had a profound and positive effect on students' ethnic and racial attitudes over the past ten years.

Third, while it is a common perception among educators that racial prejudices among children are a simple reflection of their parent's racial attitudes, this is not so; childhood prejudices are not just a case of straightforward cross-generational learning. In particular, it has been shown that, everything else being equal, there are sharp differences in prejudice between children, and that a high degree of racial prejudice is a strong function of personal anxiety, poor self-esteem and neurosis.⁶ An obvious conclusion is that because many prejudiced children evidently use such prejudices to shore up their own self esteem, in such children prejudicial attitudes are likely to be quite resistant to change. Even the most potent programming to increase tolerance will not therefore affect everyone; those for whom prejudice fulfills a deep psychological need are best dealt with through the alternative means of counselling and discipline.

Fourth, one should be careful that strategies aimed at the elimination of intolerance in majority group children do not negatively affect the self-concept of visible minority children themselves; classroom activities or material which unintentionally appears to be stereotypic, threatening or humiliating from the point of view of visible minority children should be avoided, regardless of

its positive effects on the attitudes of other children. Clearly also, teachers are *not* competent to make this decision by themselves, and should enlist the aid of adult members of the communities in question or of professionals in this area of attitude change.

Finally, it should be noted that students are the least prejudiced segment of the population. Canadians are generally quite tolerant (at least on a world scale) and children are more so. Moreover, they are on the leading edge of racial value change. As a consequence of this and the fact that they are 'captive' of a formal learning context in which they are required to participate, students are without doubt the easiest group in the population to approach. In addition, inasmuch as their attitudes have not typically become as structured and circularly defined as those of adults, they are also the easiest segment of the population to significantly influence. The potential impact of educational programs aimed at increasing tolerance is consequently great.

Focus

Resources available to fight racism are in short supply, due chiefly to a lack of will on the part of educational administrators, this being brought on through the ineffectiveness of visible minority group pressure as compared with that of other interest groups.⁷ A rational strategy must therefore focus on those people where such efforts will yield the best and most significant effect. The first option to consider is obvious. Should one concentrate primarily on students or teachers?

There seems to be a gathering consensus that, everything else being equal, one should concentrate on teachers.⁸ If teachers are racially tolerant, well informed, sensitive to racial issues, and aware of the need to foster tolerance, they will automatically contribute to a milieu which will help students acquire a similar outlook. Unfortunately, everything else is not equal. Teachers generally have little training, knowledge or interest in race relations and some are actively prejudiced. Almost none of Canada's teachers has had any formal training in issues of ethnocultural or racial tolerance before entering the profession — a situation which is perpetuating itself in today's generation of new teachers. They are also an overworked interest group, who have generally argued that racism is a problem for students, not for them. Moreover, inservice training and other means which might likely rectify teachers' deficiencies in this area are

typically ineffective: so far, they have been too short term, too superficial and too much a function of voluntary teacher participation and of teacher interest. In most contexts, I believe that it is unlikely that we should expect much short-term movement on this front, but it must remain an important long-range goal.

This leaves one with the difficult objective of addressing students through teachers who are generally ill-equipped to do so. Given this constraint, which students should be addressed? Generally, prejudice is a strong function of a child's age and grade. They start out unprejudiced (by definition), yet by the time they are adolescents their attitudes towards race have largely stabilized.⁹ This presents educators with a paradox. In terms of racial incidents, adolescents are generally seen to be "the problem", and this attracts remedial attention to them. At the same time, the most effective value and behavioral modification can be done on pre-school children and those in elementary school.¹⁰

In overview, the argument to concentrate on the young is powerful. Moreover, testing has shown that short-term projects generally have no effect whatsoever on strongly prejudiced adolescents.¹¹ Rather, greater change is effected among those who are less prejudiced to begin with. For the archetypical highly prejudiced adolescent (who is male, authoritarian, relatively deprived, conservative and alienated from school), perhaps the best that can be done is abandon attempts to change their prejudices and instead force them to not discriminate.¹²

Short-Term Techniques of Intervention

A. Inter-racial Contact

A naive but common assumption is that tolerance is a straightforward, positive function of closer contact between racial groups.¹³ It is not.¹⁴ Contact in contexts of high racial polarization or structured inequality usually *reinforces intolerance*; this is well illustrated by attempts to increase tolerance in the southern United States soon after the schools had been forcibly desegregated.¹⁵ Even benign but non-collective contact like inter-racial school outings or exposure to the culture and history of others may be totally ineffective.¹⁶

Even so, one of the most effective strategies of all to decrease racism involves *selective* contact. It is one that harks back to the pioneering studies of Sherif *et al.*¹⁷ This is to organize multi-racial co-operative groups operating towards a common,

mutually beneficial, superordinate goal in situations of interdependence and equal status.¹⁸ Such groups have long been known to foster better inter-group relations in industry and are now being successfully applied to race relations in the schools.¹⁹ A typical educational example would be to purposely have students of different racial backgrounds work together on a creative or discovery project, organized in such a way as each child's individual success is unavoidably based on real cooperation with all others in the group.²⁰ The great attraction of this method is that it requires few new curriculum resources, little input from outside experts, nor much in the way of teacher sophistication or sensitivity. It apparently does not even matter what the topics or tasks are, given that they do not allow the group to divide along the lines of race or to become totally individualized. As an example, I might mention one test which involved Baltimore children in such groups over a period of ten weeks.²¹ The work groups involved 7th and 8th graders in grammar and punctuation tasks. Subsequent testing showed a significant increase in inter-racial friendships which were a function of neither sex nor ability. So effective and 'cost efficient' is this technique that it should be strongly encouraged.

B. Direct, 'Neutral' Teaching About Race

Perhaps the most common approach to racial intolerance and its reduction has been to introduce factual material on racial minority groups into the curriculum, such material being presented in such a fashion as to highlight historical or present day inequities and the difficulties faced by visible minority groups. Specific topics range from presentation of historical analyses of racial groups to modern race relations, to descriptions of the cross-cultural problems faced by such groups. Despite its popularity, this approach is fraught with difficulties and the evidence suggests that it does not usually work very well.²² Occasionally, these programs even increase prejudice.²³

Why does direct teaching typically produce such a poor effect? Several reasons have been put forward, all of which seem plausible. Because this approach stresses facts and a 'neutral' analysis of race relations it does not directly challenge students' *values*: value change can accordingly only occur via internalization of the factual inequities faced by these groups so deeply that students feel required to shift their values; this apparently rarely happens. Also, such techniques do not person-

ally involve students and cannot easily get around the growing tendency for students to consider all forms of sociological analysis as arbitrary opinion — as just one possible point of view. In addition, teachers are manifestly unprepared to use this approach to maximal advantage. They know little about the groups concerned, their heritage or their present situations. Moreover, these strategies subtly and inappropriately shift the focus of 'the problem' from the majority to the minority²⁴; racism is a problem for visible minorities, sure enough, but the majority group is the source of that problem, not them.

C. Direct, 'Value Laden' Teaching About Race

In contrast, more provocative teaching techniques which explicitly articulate relevant values generally *do* work.²⁵ This kind of value articulation can be achieved through several strategies. First, teachers should use an individualized, highly psychological perspective to present race relations material rather than a depersonalized and abstract sociological, historical or economic one. While this distorts reality and panders to the growing tendency to 'psychologize' social phenomena, it can nevertheless personalize race and make it meaningful to students.²⁶ How would *you* feel under such circumstances? *Why* did they do that? Questions like these bring an important affective component into teaching race, as long as it is done in such a way as to avoid sending a message to prejudiced children that they are fundamentally immoral or inadequate because of the beliefs they hold or because of the things which they have done in the past.²⁷ This affective strategy has been shown to modify significantly the attitudes of low to moderately ego defensive individuals.²⁸

Teachers should also take an overtly strong moral stand against racism. Remember, if the object is value change, it is best to address values directly. Prejudice and discrimination should be portrayed as issues of *right and wrong*, not just of inequality; ideally, past and present discriminators should be portrayed as human beings (rather than caricatures), who because of ignorance or a limited view of the situation are acting immorally and producing bad effects, even if they are not aware of doing so.

D. Reverse Role-Playing and Other Dramatic Techniques

Over the past decade reverse role-playing has become a popular technique in a variety of work-

shops and other groups aimed at sensitizing adults to what the world looks like from the 'other side' of social situations. Should such techniques be extended to children and to issues of race? Probably not. It should be noted that even for adults the effects of reverse role-playing are quite variable.²⁹ Studies have shown that this technique can be effective with young children, but (as in the adult case) this is dependent on a high level of teacher competence; in contrast, a recent large scale test of the effect of dramatic techniques in Britain showed no appreciable positive effects.³⁰ Reverse role-playing is perhaps best reserved for instances of well trained professionals sensitizing teachers.

E. Direct Modification of Behaviour

Perhaps the most fundamental programming question that one could ask is whether one should devote one's energy primarily to changing racial attitudes in order to change behavior or *vice-versa*. The individualized, psychological mentality of the schools leads one to the inevitable conclusion that one should try to change prejudices (beliefs and values) in order (by doing so) to eliminate discrimination (behavior). Most projects are oriented this way, with the notable exception of those employing cooperative work groups. Is such a strong concentration on attitudinal change supported by research? The answer is 'No'. It remains an open question, and there is considerable support for using the opposite approach.³¹ If people are required to act equally many will eventually come to think equally, if for no other reason than to remove the contradictions between what they think and what they do. This appears to be what happens in cooperative work groups.

There is great untapped potential in behaviorally oriented approaches to racial tolerance. One obvious conclusion (that one would expect in any case) is that school boards everywhere should implement absolute, invariant, explicit policies on racial discrimination in the schools which treat discrimination seriously, stress the punishment of discriminators (rather than rehabilitation) and allow little mitigating consideration of the individual circumstances of a given discriminatory act. It must be made clear to students, parents, teachers and administrators that discrimination is morally objectionable and will be dealt with so severely that it is not in the individual's self-interest to discriminate. Such policies have been developed by several major school boards, as for example in

Toronto, North York and Vancouver.³² However, most major school boards like Calgary's or Edmonton's have no explicit racial policy at all.

F. Behavior Modification, Classical Conditioning and Other Uncommon Approaches

There are a variety of other, more rarely used strategies, which have been developed primarily to deal with adult inter-group prejudices rather than those of children.³³ Many of these, say for example the highlighting of belief inconsistency or of inter-group belief similarity, or for that matter, classical conditioning (Kehoe 1978) appear to have rather limited potential applicability to the educational context. This is either (like the former) because the technique cannot be easily applied or (like the latter) because of ethical problems in its administration.

Approaches to Racial Tolerance Through Modifying Context and Worldview

Single projects aimed at racial tolerance are useful, but not without significant contextual support and reinforcement. In short, tolerance cannot be fully achieved without a multi-pronged effort that results in changing the overall school milieu such that it affirms equality and tolerance throughout. Given the political and economic realities of the school context, the development of such an overall approach must inevitably be a difficult task. How can it best be approached?

At the onset, it should be appreciated that education is a mass phenomenon, both at the level of teachers, administrators and students. Contextual change can therefore be achieved only through mass techniques — techniques which if they are to be successful must be quite routinized and non-voluntaristic. Here are a few suggestions:

1. Make more concentrated efforts to develop non-racist teaching materials which present an all-inclusive version of Canadians and of humanity.³⁴ This is a topic which many provincial Departments and Boards of Education are presently pursuing, and one which is high on the priority of the federal Multiculturalism Directorate. However, it remains one where the primary efforts so far have been oriented towards the elimination of overtly objectionable material, and there continues to be no real consistency about what constitutes effective tolerance-confirming materials beyond that

generated by common sense. The editorial processes through which curriculum material pass remain so profound, so coloured by outdated educational ideologies, so out of touch with the facts of race relations and so conservative that most material aimed at the active creation of tolerance which survives the process does so only in a tame and gutted fashion. In short, this is an area where a major shake-up is required.

2. Press for greater and more frank discussion of human variation, but without the use of the inappropriate (and false) concepts of biological races still in use in the schools. There are no authentic, scientifically useful biological races; what people conceive of as biological racial categories are in fact socially-defined criteria of group inclusion and exclusion, and students should be aware of it.
3. Develop absolute race relations codes of behavior for students, teachers and administrators. Beyond their function to help maintain the rights and self concepts of minority students, such codes are learning devices for non-minority children — ones which teach that discrimination is illegal and will be punished. They are also effective in legitimating racial tolerance among teachers and administrators.
4. Encourage cooperative work groups, especially in the early grades. Use a range of intra- and inter-classroom techniques to ensure that majority group children cannot socially isolate themselves from their minority group peers and to ensure that minority group children are not similarly isolated.
5. Develop means to quickly incorporate new visible minority students into meaningful inter-racial peer groups.
6. Create a school board level mechanism for attitude testing in order to have a basis for selective short term intervention to increase racial tolerance and evaluate ongoing changes.³⁵ Use the techniques of participant observation to identify key discrimination problems and to contribute to an evaluation of the effect of conscious programming aimed at its elimination.
7. In the implementation of any short-term program, consult the growing literature on this issue rather than suffer the consequences of ignoring that literature.
8. Make use of outside resource people in designing programs; be sure that these people actually have a grasp on the literature and have

not just learned their trade through 'practical experience.'

9. Don't forget that one significant resource base is available everywhere: the visible minority communities themselves—especially in order to draw out people such as elders, spokespersons, religious leaders, artists, etc.³⁶ Use them to make students more conscious of the rich variety of Canadian cultural ways and of the ultimate point that cultural ways aside, people are pretty much the same everywhere.

In the longer term:

1. Support rigorous in-service training of teachers and counselors by professionals. Make such training mandatory in key situations, and make certain that the effectiveness of this training can be evaluated.
2. Provide more race relations pre-service training. It is unrealistic to think that teachers can easily develop this skill and knowledge base after they are full-time teachers.
3. Press for curriculum materials in every topical area which better portray Canada as a multicultural and multiracial country, and Canadians as being multicultural and multi-racial.
4. Encourage more visible minority individuals to enter the teaching profession; regardless of the teaching contexts they enter, they will provide role models for children from their respective groups and their very presence will require majority children to broaden their role models to better include cultural and racial diversity.

Conclusions

Enough is known to make intelligent choices of strategies that will work to change racial attitudes and behavior in school populations. There is now no reason to sally forth with untried strategies unless the objective is experimental rather than practical. Secondly, it is clear that this kind of programming fills a need which common sense and commitment to social equality demand be addressed. Today's children are tomorrow's adults; we have the opportunity to help them be more at ease with physical difference than our generation—much to their benefit and the enrichment of their lives. Whether or not we address this question is dependent on our commitment and upon political pressure from concerned interest groups; whether these are to be sufficient to the task is a question not for the future, but for now.

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Notes

1. This paper was based on an earlier one presented in 1982 at the conference Perspectives on Race, Education and Social Development put on by the Race Relations Institute of the University of British Columbia (see D'Oyley 1982).
2. For example, when I asked leaders and spokespersons drawn from a broad range of Calgary's visible minority communities about which methods were most effective in the elimination of discrimination, educational means were by far the most preferred (Buchignani 1982).
3. Indeed, in many school districts one could not even get permission to test one of these programs.
4. Brislin and Pedersen (1976).
5. Bagley and Verma (1981); Jeffcoate (1979).
6. Verma et al (1983).
7. E.g.: a widely-publicized report on discrimination in Calgary (Buchignani 1982) noted many visible minority grievances about education, to no effect; in contrast, a single rural teacher's (Jim Keegstra) prejudices against a more powerful ethnocultural group led to significant government action.

8. Jeffcoate (1979); Williams and Edwards (1969).
9. Pushkin and Veness (1973).
10. Trobovitz (1969); Williams and Edwards (1969).
11. Leach (1967).
12. Bagley and Verma (1981).
13. Allport (1954); Domnitz (1964).
14. Amir (1969).
15. Valien (1954); Campbell (1958); Webster (1961).
16. Trobovitz (1969).
17. Sherif *et al* (1961).
18. Sharan (1980); Slavin (1979); Cook (1969).
19. Blake and Mouton (1964).
20. Cooperative games also appear to have this potential. See Rogers *et al* (1981).
21. Hansell and Slavin (1981).
22. Stenhouse (1975); Verma and MacDonald (1971); Parkinson and MacDonald (1972); Bagley and Verma (1972).
23. Miller (1969).
24. Ijaz (1984: 133).
25. Verma and Bagley (1981).
26. See Kehoe (1984) for an elaboration of this argument.
27. Epstein (1968; 1972); Thomas (1978).
28. Sarnoff and Katz (1956); Rubin (1967).
29. See Culbertson (1957) and Kehoe and Rogers (1978) for positive cases.
30. Bagley and Verma (1981).
31. Bem (1970); Bagley and Verma (1975:256); Worchel and Cooper (1976).
32. North York has complemented this with an informative resource kit on racial incidents (North York n.d.).
33. For a brief review of many of them, see Hayles (1978).
34. See Buchignani (1980) for a more extensive discussion of this point; Wood (1981) addresses the social science curriculum specifically.
35. See Jenkins *et al* (1979) on the use of testing.
36. See Ijaz (1984:133-135) for a successful program of this type.

Principles of Anti-racist Education

Barb Thomas

Several terms have gained currency in the recent attempts to recognize that Canada's population is both diverse and has been accorded unequal treatment, and in the efforts to make the discussion of diversity and unequal treatment palatable to dominant group Canadians: 'cross cultural education,' 'intercultural education,' 'multiculturalism,' and 'race relations training.' While there are some differences in meaning between these four terms, they all share certain assumptions about the nature of the problem being addressed; the causes of the problem; and the approaches necessary for desired change.

The concept of 'multiculturalism' was formulated by the State, and promoted as policy in Canada by the federal government from 1971.¹ While multiculturalism, as an ideology has, and should continue to be critiqued, it is fair to say that its presence has legitimized a more open discussion of the place of different cultures in this country, and their unequal treatment in our history

and our present.

The term 'anti-racist education' has developed through the work of community organizations and activists, particularly those in Britain and the United States,² and over the past few years it has been making tentative, halting inroads into discussions of racism in Canada. Indeed, it can be seen to be enriching the thinking of major proponents of multiculturalism.³ However, it departs from the tenets of multiculturalism in quiet substantial ways. It is important to define, clearly, the oppositional nature of anti-racist education before the uncomfortable edges are smoothed, and we are left with yet another term for "dealing with diversity". This article, in the spirit of furthering debate and clarity on these issues, will attempt to summarize some of the main principles and assumptions behind anti-racist education; where appropriate, to remark on its divergence from multiculturalism; and to suggest a few of its implications for the school system.

Defining the Problem

Multiculturalism views the cultural diversity of the Canadian population with some ambivalence. On the one hand, diversity is a potential problem because it may threaten — and, indeed, has been seen to threaten in the past — Anglo security. On the other hand, proponents of multiculturalism urge the celebration of that diversity. The problem for multiculturalists, is that the differing cultures which make up Canada are not accorded the same value. Culture, here, is seen primarily in terms of one's ethnic heritage. Canada should be a place where everyone's culture can be preserved and lived out with respect and without penalty. At present, it is not. Indeed, the very people who should be enjoying the preservation of their heritage have been, and continue to be denied equal opportunity, and equal access to programs, training and jobs.

Anti-racist education posits that diversity *per se* is not the problem; nor, necessarily, is preservation of one's ethnic heritage (more about this below.) It is the significance that is attached to differences, and more importantly, the way that differences are used to justify unequal treatment that is the problem. In short, racism is the problem. While it would be nice if all cultures were considered equally valuable, it is a fact that not all cultures are equally powerful in this country — whether one is talking about the aspects of culture which derive from one's gender, class, race or ethnicity. Unequal power not only limits the dimensions of one's culture which can be legitimately expressed. More significantly, unequal power limits one's ability to earn a living, meet basic needs, make one's voice heard. Unequal power makes the struggle for self-respect, let alone the respect of one's neighbours, a formidable one. Racism is the message that one *deserves* unequal power if one is not part of the dominant cultural/racial group because one is 'different,' 'lazy,' 'less well-educated,' 'over-educated,' 'trying to take over all the professional positions,' 'incapable of being a professional,' 'privileged to be here,' 'clannish,' 'not able to assimilate,' 'expects too much,' 'expects too little,' 'won't learn English,' 'expects English classes at the expense of the taxpayer,' 'works for too little,' 'wants too much,' 'exploits one's own community,' 'allows oneself to be exploited,' 'speaks dialect,' 'has a chip on one's shoulder,' 'takes away jobs,' 'won't get a job.' This racism is deeply entrenched in our history, our institutions, and our everyday understand-

ings of ourselves, of others, and of the world around us. The very term 'anti-racist' presumes the existence and extent of racism, and the need to confront and stamp it out.

The anti-racist educator knows that the problems of racism and unequal power are present in schools as they are in every institution of a society with a history of racism. In the school, racism says that more black, Native and Portuguese children will end up in dead-end streams; that European languages such as French and Spanish are more valuable than Punjabi, Cree, Greek, or Jamaican English; that children from Britain, United States, or European countries are more likely to "fit in" and bring with them knowledge which the school can credit than those who come from third world countries; that heritage or third language classes interfere with children's ability to learn English; that black students create trouble by hanging around together and playing loud music; that immigrant parents are either uninformed, or expect too much from the school system; that Chinese children are better at, and should be encouraged to excel in sciences and maths; that in schools where all the children are white, Anglo-Saxon there is no problem of racism because there are no 'visible minorities' — suggesting that it is the presence of minority children which creates racism.

However, I am reminded that the above litany may go nowhere at all in proving the existence of racism, by the comment of a person being interviewed about her experience with racism. She said, "We have been told what racism is, and we think it is somebody calling us a 'pak', or a 'chink', or a 'nigger.' But in fact, most racism you can't prove. The main factor about racism is that you cannot prove it."⁴

For anti-racist educators, the prevalence and persistence of racism and unequal power need no further proof.

Causes of the Problem

If multiculturalism views unfavourable reactions to differences and the resulting unequal access to goods and services as the problem, it sees ignorance and prejudiced attitudes as the causes of the problem. However, in the last few years, there is an increasing recognition among adherents of multiculturalism that institutional discrimination both feeds such prejudices and is nourished by them.

Anti-racist education also acknowledges the

persistence of stereotypes and prejudices. And it is in accord with multiculturalism in its recognition that minority groups have been denied equal access and equal opportunity. But it asks what practices and history those stereotypes and prejudices support. It insists on examining and revealing where racist ideas come from, and how they become translated into the everyday 'common sense' notions that see and justify the immigrant as 'alien,' and the Native person as second class. Anti-racist education explores the history of racism in Canada and the ways it has been used to invite, maintain and exploit cheap labour in the development of this country. It identifies those who have defined our history — those who's music, literature, art, technology, and struggles are present, and who's are absent. It examines the ways in which the subjugation of third world peoples is explained by such characterizations as 'hungry,' 'dependent,' 'passive,' 'incompetent,' 'troubled,' 'poor,' 'ignorant' and 'overpopulated.' It asks why, when oppressed peoples fight back against the very injustices which harness them to dependency, their struggles are labelled, 'extremist,' 'militant,' 'leftist,' 'hardline,' 'radical,' 'anti-democratic,' and 'anti-American.' Why is fighting against racism and unequal power in an organized and clear-eyed way viewed with such alarm by some of the same people who wish sincerely to change attitudes? Anti-racist education examines the ways in which racism convinces people that they have less, rather than more in common. In short, anti-racist education probes the manner in which racism rationalizes and helps perpetuate injustices and continued unequal power.

Approaches to Change

Multiculturalism seeks changes in the attitudes of Canadians towards each other. People (usually meaning members of the dominant culture) require more information about different cultures, and some soul-searching about their attitudes towards those cultures. Institutional practices which are unfair, need to be identified and made fair. People who currently don't have equal access to programs, services, training and jobs, need to be provided with equal access. However, changes should be promoted in a 'positive light' so that people (again, meaning primarily members of the dominant culture) will not be 'turned off the whole thing.'

Anti-racist education would also hope to ac-

complish these changes, but there are significant differences in the underlying understandings of how this might happen. First, in the experience of the anti-racist educator, providing information about other cultures does not always result in 'increased tolerance.' This is because stereotypes of other peoples have already been learned — have been 'taught' through parents, peers, teachers, significant others, toys, games, books, comics, movies, textbooks, ads, television comedies, news coverage, limited equal contact, politicians, absence or presence of role models, and through the observed social status of particular groups in the society and globally. Unless these learnings are identified and examined critically, new information can simply be organized to reinforce existing understandings. For the teacher, this means several things: creating a climate in the classroom where stereotypes and racist ideas can be exposed and argued out; where sources of information can be examined; where children can be equipped to critically examine the accuracy of the information they receive; where alternative and missing information can be provided and where the historical and current reasons for the continued unequal social status of different groupings can be explored.

Secondly, culture is not viewed as a static body of information which can be transmitted easily. The aspects of culture which have currency with multiculturalism tend to be the more consumable dimensions of food, dress, 'customs' and habits. The oppositional elements which cause people to resist and challenge those things which hurt and oppress them are usually marginalized in multiculturalism's portrayal of culture. Culture, then in anti-racist education, is not just the study of how people lived and what they did in their countries of origin. It should take into account the social class, gender, age, physical mobility, political affiliations, tie of immigration, work, experience of discrimination, rural or urban origins. It is the lived, everyday responses of people to the circumstances in which they find themselves, and the manner in which they attempt to act on and change those circumstances. People don't just identify their culture in terms of their ethnic group, but in terms of those others who are attempting to survive and act on their conditions in similar ways to themselves. For example, people of Chinese origin from Trinidad, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Uganda, China, Britain, or Canada may have little in common except for the way in which

they are perceived and treated by the dominant culture.

For the teacher, such a notion of culture, implies using the lived experiences of children and their parents as the starting point for understanding 'culture' ... their experiences at home, at work, in their communities — however they might define those communities. It means searching out a broad range of literature, poetry, music, art, oral history and biographies; it means teaching children about how people have tried to change things which are wrong and unjust, and nurturing a respect for the courage and skills it takes to do this. It means respecting and reflecting in the classroom, the languages that children speak; it means according all languages an equal status in their role of shaping and communicating people's experience. It means supporting the efforts of parents to teach, and have the school teach those programs which it may not currently provide. It means engaging children in examining how people develop and adapt cultures to survive in particular circumstances.

Thirdly, while anti-racist education would also welcome 'equal access' to programs, services, training and jobs, it also recognizes that there are some hitches to this notion. For example, at the moment in Canada, the official estimate of unemployment is over 10%. If we include welfare and other forms of social assistance, 15% of the employable Canadian population is without work. This does not encompass the numbers of underemployed or part-time workers who need full-time employment. Equal access in this context means the continuing struggle not to be the 1 in 7 without a job. Equal access can only mean hoping that the skills and qualifications you have are the ones you will be able to use if you do get work. Equal access to limited jobs and training programs will still mean competing to beat someone else, who may also need equal access, out of the job or the program. Anti-racist education recognizes that the resulting frustration and helplessness of such an insecure situation is fertile breeding for finger-pointing and racist scape-goating, regardless of whether the sorting process is based on class, race, ethnicity, gender, or 'on merit' It also recognizes the important role of the school in socializing, sorting, and preparing children for the job market as it is. If the economy continues as it is, the schools cannot, in fact, provide children with equal access.

While teachers may not be able to change the

economy (although some would argue they should try) they can continue to help children develop the necessary skills for living and acting on the conditions which may oppress them. Such skills are recognized by all good educators: communicating effectively, arguing a position, working with others, analysing problems, locating relevant and full information. Teachers can strengthen and encourage self-respect, an ability to work cooperatively, a clear and critical understanding of the way in which our society works, a sense of what is fair, and a commitment and competence to work to change those things which are unjust. Teachers can recognize and develop the very real abilities in young children to think through issues, debate, argue and organize. They can structure their classrooms in such a way as to maximize the abilities and knowledge of all students. This means legitimizing the lived experiences and knowledge of children, as well as "school knowledge." It means encouraging wherever possible, "mixed ability" groupings. And it means resisting the separation of manual and mental skills and the undervaluing and overvaluing of these, respectively, which is reflected in the streaming system of our schools.

Fourthly anti-racist education seeks to engage the energies of both those who experience racism, and those who are members of the dominant culture, in the challenge to racism. However, it recognizes that there are some who will resist such engagement because of fear, or because they are doing just fine in their current situation. People who have power, or who benefit from current power relations are not likely to be in the forefront of changing those power relations. Women seeking to uncover and challenge sexism have certainly learned this. While there are many men who have wrestled personally with their own beliefs about, and practices towards women, and who have fought alongside women for equal rights, the fight has been led by women. Similarly, the fight against racism has been led by those who suffer most its effects. It is difficult for those who are hurting from racism, to put racism 'in a positive light' so as not to offend or 'turn off' those who do not want to see it.

For educators, this means learning more about how people have and are resisting racism both from the children, and from the larger community and its organizations. It means putting community and world events squarely into the classroom. It implies a commitment to work with other staff,

confront racist jokes from colleagues, support parents and children and colleagues when they attempt to rectify injustice. It means helping children identify the symptoms and causes of racism and supporting their efforts to challenge racism. Finally, it means, recognizing that such efforts will be met with resistance, and equipping children to deal with that resistance.

Fifthly, anti-racist education presumes that racism can only be challenged effectively through informed, collective action. Racism is not an individual problem — it is lodged squarely in the policies, structures, practices and beliefs of everyday life. Teachers can and should be encouraged to reduce their own isolation as teachers, and to deepen adult working relationships with their colleagues. Breaking down the barriers of autonomous professionalism can provide opportunities to talk through tough issues frankly; to share materials and approaches in the classroom; to cooperate more meaningfully with heritage and third language programs in the school; to plan for their own personal and professional development; to maximize the resources of the library and of special programs in the school; and to work more collaboratively and equally with parents. Collective action is crucial to the development of a school where racism can be discussed frankly, and where it can be resisted effectively.

In these ways, anti-racist education is also political education, for it examines critically, those

explanations and practices which misinform and oppress people. It challenges current power relations by attempting to create effective ways of working together, and by educating, equipping and mobilizing people — both children and adults — to recognize injustice and change it.

Barbara Thomas has worked in the field of anti-racism education in Toronto for over twelve years as an adult educator and author of several publications.

References

1. James Fleming, "multiculturalism: Who's it For?" a speech to the Fourth Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, October 23, 1981.
2. See in particular, the publications of the Council for Interracial Books for Children in New York, and those of the All London Teachers Against Racism and Facism, in Britain.
3. See, for example, *A Handbook for Enhancing the Multicultural Climate of the School*, John W. Kehoe, Western Education Development Group, University of British Columbia, 1984.
4. *Speaking of Racism*, interviews by Dionne Brand and Krishantha Sri Bhaggiyadatta, forthcoming publication of the Cross Cultural Communication Centre.
5. The author acknowledges her debt to three sources in particular, whose thinking, talking and writing have helped clarify her own:
Enid Lee, *Letters to Marcia: Anti-Racist Education in School*, forthcoming publication of Cross Cultural Communication Centre
Dionne Brand, for her poetry and her interviews with over 100 people in Toronto
All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism, *Challenging Racism*, A.L.T.A.R.F., 1984

The University's Response to Racism

York University

Brenda Manning

A great deal of attention has focused on racism in the school system in recent years. The Toronto Board of Education responded to the issue by creating a policy on race relations which indicated a serious commitment to ameliorating inter-group tensions within its system. More recently, two other Boards in Metro have followed suit

Studies which have examined race and ethnic relations at the public school level generally come to the conclusion that aspects of racist behavior and attitudes are found within the school system.

While the post secondary institutions such as colleges and particularly the Universities have been ignored, it would be naive to think they are free of the problems associated with racism. Are there manifestations of racism on campus and if so how have the colleges and Universities responded to it?

One University which has taken an initiative

Dalhousie University

**"Opinions from the Centre:
The Position of Minorities
in a Canadian University"
F.C. Wien, P.C. Buckley,
H.T. Desmond, K.E. Marshall
Institute of Public Affairs,
Dalhousie University, 1976**

This study is an examination of the position of people belonging to minority groups within Dalhousie University. The study reveals its nature, degree, and specific manifestations, together with a suggested basis for action.

As one of the largest employers in Nova Scotia, Dalhousie has approximately 2,000 full-time employees and another 1,000 part-time. 2 per cent are non-white, and are found predominantly among the more menial occupational categories. According to their numbers in the larger community, there should be at least 3 to 4 times as many.

The study surveyed full-time staff on their opinions and explanations about the under-employment of racial minorities.

When asked to indicate the degree of importance they attached to each of several causal explanations for socio-economic inequality among racial groups in society generally, the three most popular were those that were worded with an explicit reference to majority group discrimination or dominance, whether in the past or at present.

However, explanations given for the long-standing under-representation of Nova Scotia Blacks in the University itself take on a somewhat different character. Discrimination on the part of University personnel as the cause was supported by only 10 to 15 per cent of the respondents, depending upon whether the question dealt with the under-representation of students, academics or administrative staff. Lack of credentials on the part of minority applicants was chosen by 47 to 64 per cent of the respondents, and a very similar range was evident with respect to an insufficient number of minority applicants. When asked to explain why they thought there were few applicants, 78 per cent thought it had to do with lack of credentials, 40 per cent thought it had to do with lack of motivation on the part of the minorities, and approximately a quarter of the sample felt that the minority group anticipated discrimina-

is York University in Toronto where, for a number of years, underlying racial tensions manifested by racial graffiti scrawled on washroom walls, and other forms of harassment against non-white students has taken place. A major racial incident involving a Black graduate student harassed in a University residence generated considerable concern among members of the University community. As a result, the then President, H. Ian MacDonald, established the Presidents Committee on Race and Ethnic Relations in the spring of 1984. The Committee reports to the newly appointed Provost of the University.

The Committee has broad representation from the university's two campuses and includes faculty members, members of staff, and both foreign and domestic students. Its mandate is to improve the university community's appreciation of the complex nature of race and ethnic relations and to suggest methods by which the University can support an environment of racial and ethnic tolerance.

As part of its review, the Committee has scheduled hearings for concerned groups within the community: student governments, ethnic clubs, unions, faculties and colleges have all been invited to participate. They have been asked to address the perceptions of race and ethnic relations at the university, their personal experiences, and to make recommendations for institutional response, whether in the areas of education or mechanisms for complaint procedures.

During the September registration period this year, a survey drafted by Professor Frances Henry of the Department of Anthropology was administered, and data is currently being assessed on over 1,000 questionnaires. The aim of the survey is to gather empirical data on issues related to race and racism as perceived by both white and non-white students. Results of this survey will form the basis for an examination of the need for a programme of staff training and development; a review of curricular and programme activities at the university as they relate to a climate for racial and ethnic tolerance; and whether there is a need for a library or information centre concerned with race and ethnic relations.

In all areas of discussion and activity, York's Committee on Race and Ethnic Relations is committed to taking positive steps on this salient issue in human rights.

Brenda Manning is Foreign Student Advisor at York University.

tion or perceived the University as an alien, hostile institution.

The differing explanations given for racial inequality in society generally as compared with the University are not necessarily incompatible, but they do indicate a clear preference for locating the source of discrimination and institutional dominance outside the University.

The change strategies that the respondents were prepared to support to change the racial stratification system within and outside the University are summarized in the following table.

Support for Change Strategies (Per cent favouring each approach)	
Change Strategy	Support
1. Education to bring about a more enlightened population	90.1
2. Expand the Transition Year Program (TYP) to all low-income groups	80.2
3. Multiculturalism	75.2
4. Expand TYP for racial minorities	64.4
	(qualified)
5. Black or Acadian studies program	63.5
6. The University should encourage minority group applications for employment	59.4
	(qualified)
7. Society should compensate native people for their aboriginal title	
land:	56.4
money:	44.4
8. Society should compensate native people for their land claims	
land:	45.8
money:	43.8
9. Legislative measures should be used to achieve equality	41.3
10. Minority group organization should be encouraged	37.8
11. The University should undertake a preferential employment program for academic and administrative staff	
administrative:	23.1
academic:	22.1
12. Violence should be used as a strategy by minorities in order to achieve equality	3.2

The most popular strategies, the first five on the list, basically involve a reliance on educational approaches. When we come to questions of employment, compensation, legislation or minority group organization, the support of the majority of respondents rapidly disappears.

The report concludes that while education to produce a more enlightened majority group and education to upgrade the skill levels of minorities are not entirely worthless, they are both very long-term, partial, and ineffective strategies if they are carried out in the absence of, or in isolation from, more basic structural reforms. The heavy reliance on educational approaches and the demand for equal treatment of all groups without regard to the historical record and existing inequalities, appear more like comfortable rationalizations which serve to maintain the status quo than effective measures to change.

The authors propose that the specifics of a change strategy should be worked out between the University and the relevant groups — it requires corrections through reform of curriculum, staff hiring, school board representation, special programmes and so on; that practices such as racism and certain aspects of credentialism and licensing which restrict access to professional and trade occupations be eliminated; or that resources for the development of minority-controlled economic development projects and organizations be provided.

The worlds of academia cannot continue to pretend that racial inequalities are generated entirely outside the University, and that there is nothing the University can do until the rest of society shapes up.

— U.A.R.R. PUBLICATIONS — A LIMITED NUMBER OF COPIES OF THE FOLLOWING MATERIALS ARE STILL AVAILABLE

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Self-disclosure: Developing and Implementing a Race Relations Policy

Teresa Gonzalez

As I began to write this article I tried to disengage myself from it, I attempted to be impersonal and functional. Yet, I realized that critical thinking was demanded in order to make things clear, that I had to be passionately engaged. I am going through a familiar "policy participation" cycle — a burst of passion and romance followed by increased frustration and disappointment.

My affair lasted four years and its outcome is outlined in a thirty seven page document. The Metropolitan Separate School Board is the first Catholic School System to approve a bold policy aimed at combating racism and fostering an education that is truly multicultural/multi-racial.

The policy addresses the following areas: leadership initiatives, special services, staff employment, response to discrimination, and school and community. To ensure that the guidelines are properly implemented a number of basic approaches are identified. Also approximate timelines are included to ensure active and effective but flexible implementation.

It is extremely difficult to summarize four years in one or two paragraphs but anyone interested in obtaining a copy of the policy can contact the MSSB.

In this article I'd like to discuss three areas: the making of the policy, implementation strategies, and unanticipated responses. Let me remind the reader that these thoughts are based on a very personal journey.

The Making of the Policy:

The Management Committee of the MSSB established a sub-committee on Race and Ethnic Relations in December 1981. The sub-committee determined that two major consultative initiatives be developed. As a first step a draft policy was requested. The first draft was intended to provide:

- a specific statement of principle

- an initial glossary of terms
- a series of guidelines to specify MSSB objectives
- preliminary strategies for development, review, implementation, modification and evaluation
- an opportunity for consultation with a cross section of MSSB staff

The first draft was distributed internally to a cross section of senior staff, principals, vice principals, teachers and other departments. Strong interest and support for the draft policy was expressed. The analysis of the suggestions and specific recommendations was reviewed by the sub-committee and once consensus was reached a second draft was prepared in February 1983.

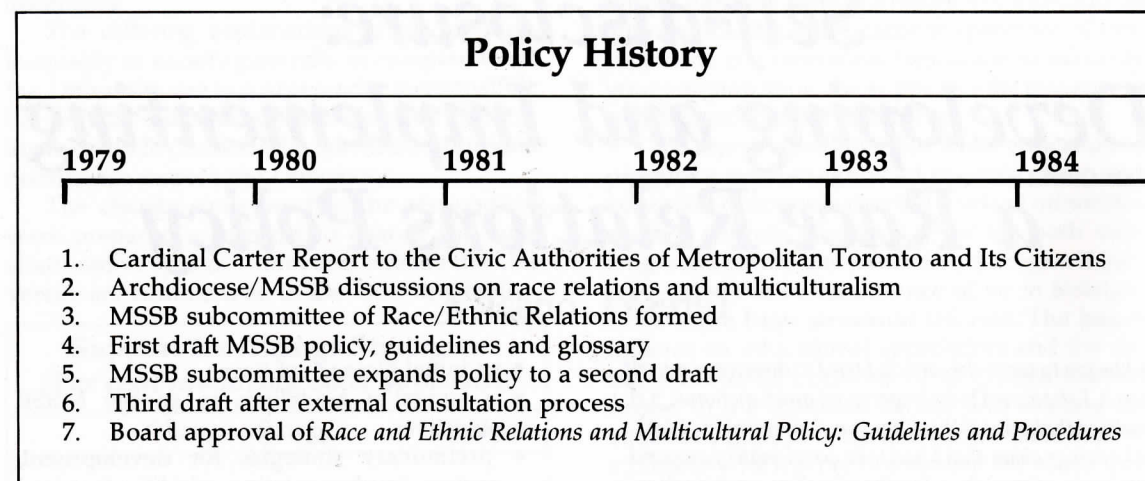
The second draft was circulated externally to a wide variety of individuals and organizations. The sub-committee and the Director of Education invited the respondents to make submissions and public hearings were held in June 1983.

One serious concern raised about the format of the hearings was the low rate of School Association responses. The section on **Special Services** generated serious criticism, particularly with regard to the potential misuse of testing and assessment instruments, the possible premature placement of students, and the need to ensure full community participation in the decision making process.

The section on **Implementation** was also closely scrutinized. The accountability factor, it was suggested, could be enacted by an Advisory Committee and annual reporting of achievement of objectives.

Revisions were made reflecting the external consultation and the final document was sent to Board for approval. It was unanimously passed by the trustees at the Board meeting of February

16, 1984. The following chart summarizes the history of the policy:



Implementation:

Policy makers do not only shape policy but they must also contribute to its implementation. The MSSB has decided with total and unthinking commitment to implement and monitor the policy. In striving to do so I take pride in both the actual practise and the welcoming of changes in such practise as indicated by the evidence.

The implementation will be threefold. The first stage involves a delivery model that identifies the target groups and timelines for inservice. (See Chart)

Models to fit varying lengths of presentation time to varying groups of educators, support staff, and communities have been developed. The first stage of the inservice will be an overall information session with focus on specific recommendations relevant to different groups. The second stage will involve more in depth analysis of interest areas.

The second strategy involves the use of implementation teams. Three years ago, a Chief Administrator of one of the Board's regions, had the foresight to pilot a year long course in the area of Race Relations and Leadership. A cadre of teachers, principals, vice principals, librarians and others have had continuous sessions and follow up activities in the area of Race Relations. Each school will begin to have at least two on site trainers and leaders. Therefore, acknowledgement of the participants experience and respect for their perspective in the school is recognized. They

are advocates of an education that is engaged in searching and choosing, an education that is willing to take the risk of new perspectives, and an education that cares.

The third and most important element for implementation will have to be rooted in each school and department. They will have to decide how to best implement the policy and assume a leadership role. This process will hopefully generate a shared revision, a team conspiracy, mutual trust and the support that is needed to bring about change. After all, Race Relations does not happen in the Race Relations department, so much as it happens in the operational units of our organizations.

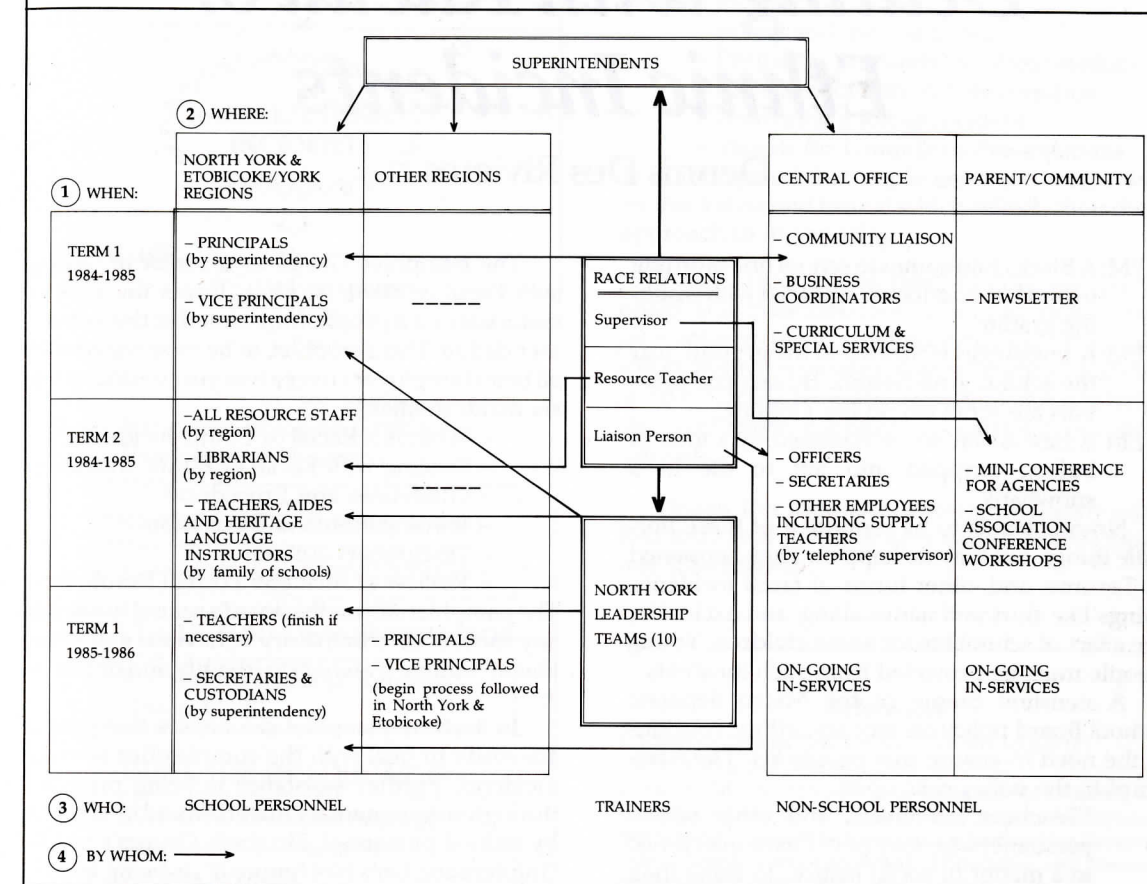
Unanticipated Responses:

I thought that once the policy was in place, my energies, my ego, my psychological defenses would be mobilized to a lesser degree. Yet there are hard truths that we must accept. Race Relations makes people uncomfortable, uneasy, and sometimes hostile and resistant.

A major problem specific to the area of Race Relations is that it seeks to eliminate racism in our society. People can cope when you say "Equal Opportunity, Race Relations", but racism is an institutional process. To implement a policy that challenges the fundamental institutional arrangements in our society is to challenge the power of some.

It is important to recognize the difficulties of

Race Relations Policy "Delivery Model" September 1984-December 1985 (revised October 1984)



attempting to eliminate inequalities. Although we cannot always remove the conflict, we can use it to better lobby our potential allies. Coalition on issues of critical concern are a must.

The MSSB policy calls for a deep understanding and ultimately for a fundamental change, it calls for us to take our differences and make them strengths.

Spending time writing this article has helped

me to reaffirm something I've always believed — out of our lives we make policies, according to our policies we live our lives and I do not know which comes first.

Teresa Gonzalez is Supervisor of Affirmative Action and Multiculturalism with the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board.

Guidelines to Assist in Dealing with Racial or Ethnic Incidents

Dennis Des Rivieres

ITEM: A Black child comes to school one morning to find her coat locker smeared with insulting graffiti.

ITEM: A Jewish girl is thrown to the ground near the school. Anti-Semitic threats and symbols are scrawled on her clothing.

ITEM: A East Asian boy is harassed by a mob of bullies, stripped and left to die in a snowbank.

No-one wants to be reminded of these horrible things, but they do happen. They happened in Toronto, and, other forms of racial incidents, things like slurs and namecalling and exclusion, are a fact of school life for some children. Young people must be protected from such incidents.

A constant theme of the Metro Separate School Board policy on race and ethnic relations is the need to ensure that people act. The Foreward to the policy calls upon

"Teachers, caretakers, and other school personnel who may never have intervened in a matter of social justice...to bring their role as Christian witnesses to bear". (p.v)

The commitment to race and ethnic relations must be a personal one, an active one. Yet, intervention in a racial incident poses difficulty for many school personnel. "Is it really racism that I'm dealing with here?" "Am I acting alone or with the support of the institution?" "Who should I bring into the resolution of this problem?" Questions like these can blunt the initiative to act on behalf of the children involved. For this reason the Metro Separate School Board policy recommended that guidelines and programmes be developed

...to assist school staffs in identifying, responding to, and preventing racist or other discriminatory incidents, attitudes and behaviours. (p. 15)

The pamphlet, *Guidelines to Assist in Dealing with Racial or Ethnic Incidents* forms the core of materials and a programme aimed at this recommendation. This pamphlet, to be in-serviced with all board employees over a two year period, treats six major themes:

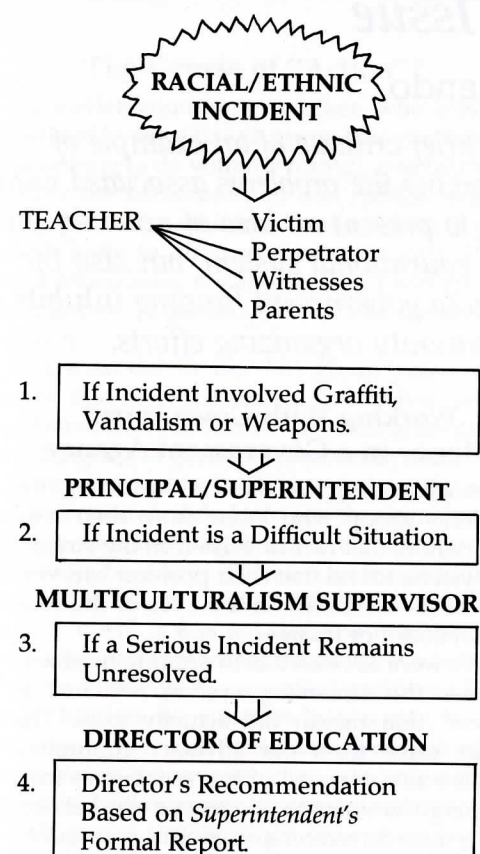
- What is a Racial or Ethnic incident?
- Dealing with Racial or Ethnic Incidents
- Guidelines and Procedures
- Investigation and Discussion
- Disciplinary Actions
- Review of Incident: Formal Resolution

The pamphlet affirms the board's refusal to tolerate any form of discriminatory behaviour and provides an outline by which to identify and deal with it.

In itself no pamphlet can ensure that people are ready to deal with the complexities of racial incidents. Further assistance is being provided through supplementary materials and in-services by trained personnel. Elizabeth Crump's article, "Intolerance, Let's Not Ignore It", is being used to highlight the necessity to intervene, while Robert Moore's tract, "Handling Racial/Ethnic Incidents in Educational Institutions" outlines what to do with the victim, perpetrator, witnesses and parents. To clarify questions of procedure toward resolving more difficult incidents, in-service teams are using Figure 1, derived from the pamphlet, *Guidelines to Assist in Dealing with Racial or Ethnic Incidents*. These in-services will range in length from forty minutes to an hour, concurrent with an overview of the policy itself.

The in-service teams presenting this information to schools have been prepared in advance. They are all "graduates" of a Race Relations Leadership Programme for teachers and administrators which the board has conducted since 1982. Seven teams have been formed for im-

Guidelines to Assist in Dealing with Racial and Ethnic Incidents



plementation of a manual, *In-Service Materials for "Guidelines to Assist in Dealing with Racial or Ethnic Incidents"*. It assists team members both in preparing their presentations and in anticipating questions that participants might raise. Sections of this manual include:

- policy and the *Guidelines*
- Preparing for *Guidelines* Presentations
- Race and Racism: A Conversation
- Analyzing a Racial Incident
- Visuals for *Guidelines* Presentations

It is anticipated that implementation teams will evolve a style and format which reflects their own approach to in-servicing.

Policy recommendation, *Guidelines* pamphlets and materials, in-servicing by skilled implementation teams, a training manual...These all affirm Metro Separate's commitment to handle racial incidents. Now, the important part is to help staff feel more confident in carrying out this mandate.

Dennis Des Rivieres is a Resource Teacher with Race and Ethnic Relations, Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board.

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1. Elizabeth Crump, "Intolerance: Let's Not Ignore It". *The ATA Magazine*, Jan./Feb. 1984, pp. 20-22
2. Robert Moore, "Handling of Racial/Ethnic Incidents in Educational Institutions: Guideline Supplement for Elementary Schools", prepared by the author for Metropolitan Separate School Board, North York Board of Education, and Toronto Board of Education (1984 - mimeograph) 3 pgs.

Letters, articles, and visual images for publication in CURRENTS are welcomed

Streaming

A Critique on Community Organising Around the Issue

Sharmini Fernando

The purpose of this article is to provide a brief critique of an example of community organizing efforts directed at overcoming the problems associated with the process of streaming. The article attempts to present an idea of not only the organizing necessary to deal with an unjust educational system, but also the magnitude of the issue itself, and why and how government funding inhibits and prohibits, to a certain extent, community organizing efforts.

In April of 1984, I was hired as a community development worker on a Canada Works Multicultural Project to work with community residents around the issue of education streaming.*

The problem

The phenomenon known as streaming and/or placement has been a thorn in the side of our supposedly 'very democratic' Canadian educational system for more than twenty years. Streaming for the purposes of this article can be defined as the placement of students, after grade 8, in vocational, technical and academic schools. The problem is that children from minorities and those with working class backgrounds tend to be highly concentrated in the vocational and technical stream.

This tendency does not occur spontaneously. It is the perception of the author that it is a calculated, systematic way of not only maintaining the existing status quo where racism is endemic in society, but also of maintaining the circle of poverty and ignorance in which a large segment of our society lives and continue to live. Schools are a microcosm of the larger society. They maintain and support the existing class structure, by producing and reproducing a large pool of unskilled labour largely composed of minorities and working class peoples.

* The name of the agency and the area I work in will be withheld to protect myself for the duration of my work contract

Working With Government Money in a Government Agency

In addressing the issue of streaming, the residents group who knew from their own experiences that racism existed in the streaming system, found that their position had very little or no credibility in the eyes of the local school board or trustees.

We were advised that in order to be able to address the streaming system, we had to "prove" that racism did actually exist. This advice came from our advisory committee, which was composed of representatives from various government social agencies who believed in the non-threatening model of community organizing. We were advised to not "come-on" too strong because we would be labelled as "radical" and no ear would be open to us. We were told we wouldn't be given a chance to work with the system if we were accusatory of it. The advisory committee convinced us — after all, what did the community and a novice community worker know about dealing with the 'mighty system'.

Whenever government money supports community programmes, there is a definite conflict of interest. This particular community group is trying to change a system that is being maintained by the government and the government is giving them money to do it. First this is a project with definite time limits. Groups existing because of government grants are expected to form, evolve and

work on change under the pressure of little time. This is a sure way of setting programs up for failure. Secondly, the funds are conditional upon following certain guidelines, such as the content and method of community organizing. If we overstep these boundaries, they simply and quickly cut our funding.

The Course of "Action"?

A novice community worker, who was not generated by the citizens' group (the community had nothing to do with my hiring), was taken-on to steer the community in the 'right direction'. The government structure I was working in gave me no room to discover the community. I was given ultimatums, not alternatives. I was given a blueprint of "organizing" and was directed to follow it.

So, what did we do? The group began work on our first outreach tools — a brochure and a questionnaire. A brochure advertising the group was designed to generate community interest. It was only printed in English, and as an outreach tool it necessarily failed to reach the sizeable non-English speaking segment of the community. There was no money allocated for translations or interpreters in the budget of this multicultural project. Why? It was not deemed important by those who had applied for the funds. It was much easier to eliminate the so-called problem of language barriers by completely ignoring it. The language barrier also presented a problem when doing our questionnaire. It too was only printed in English and our interviewers (members of the parents group) unfortunately, only spoke English.

We composed a questionnaire in order to prove our contention that discrimination in the streaming process does exist, to justify our existence as a group organizing around this issue, and thirdly to determine the concerns of parents with school-aged children. More specifically the questionnaire tried to determine:

1. How well informed parents were about:
 - what stream their children were in (vocational, technical or academic).
 - specific programs that schools offer such as, ESL/ESD, special education, French Immersion, career counselling, etc.),
 - assessments and tests given to their children such as, language speech assessments, psychological/I.Q. tests, etc.),
 - recent policy changes effecting students enter-

- ing high school (namely OSIS),
 - child's performance, behaviour (via report cards, parent teacher communication).
 - 2. parents general satisfaction/grievances with the school system,
 - 3. how well non-English speaking parents and their children fared in dealing with the school system,
 - 4. parents suggestions on how to improve the system.

What We Discovered What We Already Knew

The results of the questionnaire found that children with working class backgrounds as well as those belonging to certain minorities (West Indian, Central/South American, Italian) had a great many difficulties with the school system.

The questionnaire was designed not only to find out the concerns of parents, but also to generate participation in the group. It failed in the latter task. Why? In a working class neighbourhood those most affected have no time, because they are busy trying to survive. Many will not come to meetings because they can not speak English — the group is inaccessible to them. Many feel that it is impossible to change the system, so they are busy trying to change themselves to fit the system. In these cases, it is the child who is always blamed for not doing well at school. People are tired of addressing the system. The process of change is too slow: their children are being affected NOW, and they are unwilling to "waste" time they do not have struggling for slow and questionable change.

Possible Alternatives

When working with the school system, we must ideally work on three levels — the school/community level, the local board level and the ministry level. But with a lack of funding, time, and sufficient membership, citizens' groups must concentrate first on the school/community level.

How can we do this? Parents must be made aware of what is happening in the schools. They must be made aware of their rights. A particular community group can start a mass education campaign specifically designed to meet the above ends. Community forums can be organized at

* I would like to thank Nila Gupta for her editorial skills and invaluable input to this article.

various community centres or at people's homes to disseminate information. Flyers can be printed to inform parents about what is happening in the schools — not only positive aspects but also negative ones such as incidents of racism. Information packages should be put together to explain how the school system works, parent rights, sources of help etc. All the above information must be printed and conveyed in the languages represented in the community.

Demonstrations can be organized against particular schools by the whole community — (and include children in all community activities). Community groups and events must get full media coverage in the mainstream, local and ethnic press. But most importantly what is needed in community organizing is money and a lot of imagination.

Conclusion

Schools are a microcosm of the larger society. As such, organizing to change the school system in isolation from the larger society leads only at best to limited and short-term change.

For example, even if streaming were eliminated, it may result in having a highly educated population who still cannot find jobs. In order to avoid this problem we would have to change the labour market and societal structures. We therefore cannot assume that by changing the school system, we will be giving our children a better chance for their future. We must organize for action at all levels. It is through this type of vision that real change happens.

Sharmini Fernando is a community development worker.

The Lessons of the Keegstra Affair

Alan Shefman

On May 26, 1983, on page 2 of the New York Times, a major article appeared on the events emanating from Eckville, Alberta, a town of 890 people. A few days later a Hong Kong newspaper carried the same article. In the weeks that followed, the media around the world considered the matter of James Keegstra.

James Keegstra, 49, a teacher of industrial arts, automotive, and history for fourteen years (from 1968-82) at Eckville Junior-Senior High School was dismissed by the Lacombe Country Board of Education for failing to comply with the demand of Superintendent of Schools, R.K. David, that he "follow the Alberta Social Studies curriculum and cease teaching the Jewish Conspiracy ideology as if it were fact." Keegstra, Mayor of Eckville from 1978 to 1983, with the support of the Alberta Teachers Association appealed his dismissal to the courts. He lost his appeal.

Keegstra's activities in the classroom also came under the scrutiny of the R.C.M.P. who, after

conducting a thorough investigation received permission from the Attorney General of Alberta to charge him under section 281 of the Criminal Code of Canada. On January 11, 1984 Keegstra was served with a warrant that stated:

"Jim Keegstra is hereby charged that on or about September 1, 1978 and December 31, 1982 at or near the town of Eckville, while teaching to high school students, did unlawfully and willfully promote hatred against an individual or a group — to wit, the Jewish people."

In June a preliminary hearing took place in Red Deer which found that there was ample evidence before the court to bring the matter to trial. It is expected that the trial will take place in April, 1985.

As a result of the impending court case, the Keegstra affair will continue through 1983. The implications, although not conclusive, are becoming clearer.

While the loss of his job, the failure of the various appeals, the loss of the mayoralty election, and the criminal charge being laid are seen by Keegstra supporters as proof of the power of the "Zionist conspiracy" and the encroachment of freedom — his ability to teach his theories so long, the slowness and perceived inadequacy of government response, and the existence of a cadre of Keegstra supporters, for those opposed to Keegstra, illustrated the viability of anti-Semitism and racism in Canada today. Both groups concentrate on the threats that they see rather than on the lessons that are being or have been learned. In fact, the final analysis of the events of the Keegstra affair may provide a timely and important lesson for Canadians.

Media

For the media, the Keegstra affair has proven to be a testimony to the level of excellence possible in dealing with a complicated and important issue. The willingness of the *Edmonton Journal* to consider the implications and significance of events in Eckville contributed to the fact that the story did not end as a singular and unimportant case of bigotry. The *Edmonton Journal*, in fact, provided the initiative that was soon followed by the *Alberta Report*, the *Calgary Herald*, and the electronic media such as the CBC Journal to go beyond the events themselves.

A case in point is the May 21, 1983 *Calgary Herald* front page headline, "Teens told little about Holocaust," a story about the inadequacy of Holocaust education in Alberta schools. This was followed up four days later with a full page article entitled, "Jewish plot figment of misguided minds."

Community

The Keegstra affair has also been a testimony to the fact that even in the most trying circumstances there are still good people who are willing to come forward to fight for their principles. Margret Andrews and Susan Maddox, two Eckville mothers who refused to allow Keegstra's brand of intolerance to continue, even in the face of tremendous pressure from friends and neighbours, are modern examples of the spirit similar to that of the Righteous Gentiles who risked their lives to save Jews from the Holocaust.

The events in Eckville were a lesson to the Jewish communities in Calgary and Edmonton. Community leaders and ordinary members were shocked out of their apathy when they learned

what was going on in their midst. Hopefully, they have learned that not only is it important to have strong community resources, it is just as significant to be involved on the boards and committees of the larger community. As pointed out in a private conversation by a person who has a long history of involvement in the political process of Alberta — "Where are the Jews today? At one time Jews were actively involved in all areas of public life."

The emergence of a revitalized Community Relations Committee in Edmonton and the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada Committee in Calgary will hopefully provide the direction needed for the Jewish community to deal with the problems that they face.

Government

Perhaps in the end, it is government which has learned the most from the Keegstra affair.

The most difficult lesson has been that failing to act in the face of racism or discrimination is not a neutral response — rather, *to do nothing is to condone the act itself*. Perhaps this has begun to be recognized by government and its agencies.

The need for strong, well supported (financially and legislatively) human rights commissions, in order to have an established bulwark against intolerance, is slowly being recognized by those in power. In the past, the Alberta government has not provided any measure of support to the Commission. The programs generated have been few and far between. The Human Rights Commission, in the words of University of Calgary law professor Kathleen Mahoney (in a January 7, 1984 *Calgary Herald* article) has "very difficult legislation to deal with compared to other commissions." In the same article, Marlene Antonio, the Chairman of the Commission, stressed the limitations of the Code in dealing with institutionalized discriminatory practices such as restrictive memberships in private clubs and quotas on entry into university.

The \$500,000 public education program now underway by the Commission is hopefully only the first step in developing an ongoing long-term program for Alberta.

It is not just ironic that the Federal Government announced the creation of a major Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canada on June 16, 1983. Even with the somewhat limiting title, the scope of the Committee allowed it to hear from all groups concerned with racism and

discrimination as it toured Canada in the fall of 1983. References to the Keegstra affair and its ramifications were repeatedly made at the hearings. Perhaps the political will to establish such a unique group would not have been there if government officials had not recognized the importance of Keegstra.

Finally, for government, the issue of dealing with hate propaganda, which has been festering almost since the day the original sections of the Criminal Code were passed in 1970, has once again become significant.

In 1965 a special committee was established to look into the matter of hate propaganda. After considerable revision, Parliament passed Sections 281.2 – 281.3. These sections, which may have had some intimidation effect, have proven to be almost totally inadequate in application. There has yet to be a single case prosecuted successfully and conclusively utilizing this law.

In light of the events of 1983 in Alberta combined with a new recognition of the extent of hate propaganda in Canada, former Minister of Justice Mark MacGuigan introduced amendments to the Criminal Code in the Spring of 1984. Although these proposed changes which would have resulted in strengthening the laws against the propagation of hatred, were not acted upon before Parliament was adjourned prior to the Federal election, it is expected that the new government will address this problem.

The one area, more than any other, that would seem to be in need of change as a result of the events stemming from Keegstra's activities, is that of education. It is quite clear that the grossest abuses can take place in the system when there is virtually no system of supervision and evaluation of staff. Keegstra's activities over fourteen years illustrates an extreme example of what can result.

It is quite evident that, at the very least, the Alberta Government has recognized the need to take an in-depth look at the educational system in the province. In May, 1983 Premier Lougheed announced the establishment of a Committee on Tolerance and Understanding under the chairmanship of former Cabinet Minister Ron Gitter. This Committee, with a mandate that is probably the most far reaching of any group established by a provincial government on this topic, has held extensive public meetings throughout Alberta. So far, it has addressed such topics in its public discussion papers as private education, native

education, and the structure of the public education system. While numerous recommendations have been made by the committee, there has been virtually no implementation by any of the groups affected. It would seem that the government is waiting for the final report in December. If the recommendations made up until this time were to be utilized, even in part, the Alberta educational system would see a profound movement to a more tolerant environment.

At the same time, the Alberta government has not simply stood by awaiting the Gitter report. An extensive review of curricula resources has also taken place. Other provincial jurisdictions, in order to try to prevent the occurrence of similar events, are also believed to be undertaking studies of their systems.

The question still to be answered, is whether any educational system can today deal with the range of intolerance that is possible and probable in this country? How many other 'Keegstras' exist in other provinces?

Individual Responsibility

The final lesson of the Keegstra affair is the one that may take the longest to understand. It is the lesson of individual responsibility. While it is easy to blame school boards, departments of education, and governments for letting him teach his odious views for so long, in the end, the Keegstra affair illustrates clearly the failure of ordinary citizens to take responsibility for the system that they enjoy.

Why was there not enough of an outcry by concerned parents when he first began to preach hatred in the classroom to have him fired? Why did he not have to face the electorate when he ran for Mayor in 1980? Why did more parents not know what he was teaching their children? The remarkable turnout of 90% at the last election may tell us that at least one lesson has been learned. Parents now may be more inquisitive when it comes to their children's schoolwork.

The final lesson of the Keegstra affair, even before it actually concludes, may have been stated best by Roy McMurtry when he presented his remarks to the Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities. He concluded his presentation with a quote from Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations:

"The mad man shouted in the market place, but no one stopped to answer him. Thus, it was confirmed that his thesis was incontro-

vertible." It is important to answer the madman. It is important because, left unanswered, his lies and his malice can poison the climate. They can do worse. They can make other men mad. Left unanswered for long enough, they can nourish everything in men and women that is hateful and destructive and murderous. Our end is to ensure that every time the madman shouts in the market place, he is answered. Our end as com-

munity leaders is to provide the answer — on behalf of every man and woman and child who is oppressed and tormented by the shouting."

Alan Shefman is National Director, League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.

This article is an abridged version of 'Lessons in Adversity — The Keegstra Affair' published in The Review of Anti-Semitism in 1983 by the League for Human Rights.

JOIN THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM!

The facts of racial discrimination ought to be well known, but too often people choose to ignore or condone them — especially the way larger organizations perpetuate racism in their structures and practices.

To be effective,
the Urban Alliance on Race Relations
needs your support.

How? By joining the organization and participating in its activities and events. But perhaps even more importantly by a personal commitment — by becoming involved.

Do not ignore, condone or gloss over the reality that racism runs through all aspects of life in Canada

Create conditions at home, at work, and in the community that make it impossible for racism to operate

Examine, criticize, challenge and change the structures that perpetuate racism in organizations

Don't sit back and leave it to others.
Your contribution is vital.

Multiculturalism: As An Assimilative Ploy

Wilson Head

Tierney, John (Ed) *Race, Migration and Schooling* Holt, Rinehard and Winston, London, New York, Sidney and Toronto, 1982.

Roe, Michael *Multiculturalism, Racism and the Classroom* Canadian Education Association, Toronto, 1982.

Less than two decades ago, it could be stated with certainty that few materials existed with respect to a serious analysis of multiculturalism in modern industrial societies. While the term "race" was more widely known, and recognized as a serious problem, there had been very little attempt to link its occurrence to the prevailing social, economic and political ideologies. It can also be stated with certainty that British scholars have dug deeper in both areas than their North American counterparts. Perhaps this interest and consideration of the impact of multiculturalism and race was due to the long history of British colonialism and imperialism. Perhaps British scholars were, for whatever reason, more willing to attempt to uncover the effects of past history on the peoples of other lands, many of whom had been conquered and ruled during the heyday of the British Empire.

Whatever the reason, British scholars have produced many of the best studies now available in the English language. The book now under review, "Race, Migration and Schooling" is an example of this willingness by British authors to lay bare the shortcomings of British society in its dealing with newcomers from many countries now living in Great Britain. Unlike many other works, this is no mere uncritical descriptive study of the status quo. The Introduction by its editor, John Tierney, begins with an overview of 'race', 'racism', and 'racialism'. The fact that 'race' as a genetic concept does not exist except as a 'social definition' ... a scientific fact which most westerners appear to have difficulty accepting. The history of imperialism, most recently but not entirely, by capitalist countries are briefly presented in relationship to their economic and political goals.

Slavery was an inevitable outcome of this process of exploitation and subjugation.

Other writers, i.e. Gundara, outlines this history in more detail ... focussing on the 300 years of the subjugation of blacks and the resulting slave revolts which are rarely mentioned in history as written by Europeans or North Americans. Other myths are explored, for example, that immigration is responsible for housing, employment and other problems in British society.

In another chapter, Gundara also examines the concepts of "multiracialism, multiculturalism and cultural pluralism", noting the confusion in the use of these imprecise terms. The misuse of genetic theories by such men as Jensen, Eysenck and others are criticized as not only erroneous, but also which support the views of right-wing fascist groups ... i.e. the National Front in Britain. The need for workers in the field of multiculturalism and race relations must, in Gundara's view, develop a theoretical perspective including an analysis of institutional structures ... a view increasingly being heard in North America. In the absence of this approach, many organizations and individuals working in the field find themselves actually perpetuating racism rather than working toward its elimination.

Mullard, in perhaps the most thoughtful chapter in the book, takes up from Gundara in his chapter entitled "Multiracial Education in Britain: From Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism". Mullard focuses on the 'social meaning' and the actual educational practices of 'multiracial education'. His major concern is what he views as the use of multiracial education as perpetuating the subordination and oppression of blacks in British society. Teachers are, he claims, expected to utilize a model of education necessary to maintain the "dominant structures of social institutions, values and beliefs". These values are primarily Christian; and the code of behaviour is middle class. Social stability is the primary goal of the educational enterprise.

Mullard begins his analysis from three different ideologies, the assimilative, the integrative and the cultural pluralism perspectives. His conclusions from this analysis is that while cultural pluralism is somewhat more refined than assimilative and integrative approaches, it nevertheless focuses upon maintaining and perpetuating a sense of inferiority among black students. Mullard's analysis provides considerable challenge for those of us who work in the field of multiracial and multicultural education. We must ask ourselves if, in fact, our conferences, workshops, etc. for teachers, students and administrators are little more than window dressing.

Is the real or unconscious goal of much activity in this field actually compromised, or are we unconsciously playing into the hands of power elites who have no intention of changing the dominant educational, social and political values and goals of capitalist society? Yes indeed, this book contains much "food for thought", and should be read by all who labour in the areas of multiracial and multicultural education.

Multiculturalism: As an Investment of Foreign Trade

Michael Roe's little book (68 pages) is both frustrating and irritating. It is frustrating because it promises so much and provides so little real indepth analysis of an extremely important aspect of modern Canadian society. It is irritating at least to this reviewer, because of its overall tone ... one based on a set of assumptions with which I have real difficulty ... namely that the book is written, at least in part because multiculturalism and cultivation of many languages will give Canadians an "advantage in business activity" and will help Canadians enjoy "strategic advantages" over foreign competition, presumably in international trade. Multiculturalism is thus viewed as an instrument of foreign trade policy.

Another irritating aspect of this book is its gratuitous labelling of at least some workers in the field of multicultural education as being "politically motivated" and thereby serving their own purposes. No evidence is given to support these charges of political chicanery.

Neither is evidence given to support the assertion that "anthropological studies" show that "pluralistic societies" are invariably more dynamic and robustly creative than "homogenous societies". This may be true for some pluralistic societies, but is it invariably true? On the other hand,

the book does present a veritable catalogue of multicultural programs in schools throughout Canada. It briefly describes multicultural programs in Halifax, Regina, Toronto, North York, London, Vancouver and a few other cities. It does not however, present a critical analysis of these programs ... the basic assumption is given that all are valuable and effective. Therefore, aside from its use as a reference book on contemporary multicultural programs in Canadian schools, this book has little value to multicultural and race relations practitioners.

The book also tends to focus primarily upon the need to change the attitudes of school children. The studies quoted refer entirely to this aspect of multiculturalism and race relations. In fact, the author quotes John Kehoe by an actual count of at least 29 times! There is no recognition of the institutional (systemic) presence of ethnic and racial discrimination in Canadian society. While quoting the results of cross sectional (one observation) studies, no attention is given to the durability of findings. Thus, we don't know whether or not observed changes resulting from various programs have any lasting effect. This of course, is not entirely the fault of the author ... the great majority of studies do not involve follow-up to determine if results of programs are lasting or temporary.

While the book offers little of value to the experienced practitioner in the field of ethnic and race relations, it does contain a considerable amount of descriptive information, although raw and undigested. This reviewer would have liked to read a book which went beyond the mere description of programs and focused on their real impact on students and teachers. There are some basic unresolved questions relating to the assumptions, goals and meanings of multicultural education in this country. For example, what are the unexamined values and goals we are attempting to encourage? Some critics suggest that these programs are merely sophisticated efforts to assimilate ethnic and racial groups into the values and goals of middle-class Canadian Anglo-Saxon society. Alas, a critical analysis was not the purpose of this book. The author has assimilated a great deal of information. Let's hope that his next effort will dig deeper into an important subject.

Wilson Head is presently a visiting professor at the School of Social Work, University of Victoria, British Columbia.

Black Studies or Black-White Studies?

Jean Augustine

Black Studies Ontario Ministry of Education Guide for Teachers – Intermediate Division. Toronto 1983

Roots of racism (Book One) *Patterns of racism* (Book Two) Institute of Race Relations, London 1982

The Ontario guide was developed for students, teachers and curriculum committees.

The expertise and collaboration of the writing team and individuals who made input, provided materials, commentary and/or suggestions cannot be disputed. This document is in keeping with the excellent standards of the Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum and resource materials and guidelines. As a guide for intermediate teachers and curriculum committees it meets all criteria: – units are identified, grade levels provided, objectives are clearly stated, content is thoroughly researched; topics are grouped, subject headings given; suggestions are made for follow up activities; evaluation procedures are given with extensive student and teacher resources. In other words an excellent, useful, and a most creditable document which "highlights the Black presence in the Canadian mosaic from as early as the seventeenth century" through "significant events in the development of Canada's Black mosaic" to an examination of "the Black heritage through the themes of 'identity and survival' and referencing these themes to Ontario Ministry of Education Intermediate Division other support documents.

This document during the 1983 school year was distributed in the fashion of all OME documents, i.e. copies to all schools. A quick, unscientific, three-question telephone survey of 15 schools produced responses that gave one the impression that apart from a quick perusal by the Principal; having it in the school library; or giving it to the social studies teacher; little or no use or reference to it is made, especially in schools with few or no Black students. This can also be said of other curriculum documents that are sent to

schools with no procedures for inservicing in the use of the document concerned.

The crucial debate though is not in the document's use but in the area of its ability to promote better understanding within a multicultural and multiracial setting. In other words by integrating information and historical facts about Blacks would a teacher be working towards the principle of equality of life chances for Black students? Is it the hope that knowledge will reduce prejudice and discrimination and also improve equality of opportunity? Some would argue that on the contrary such an approach helps to maintain the myths about minority groups as problems to be studied while leaving intact the institutional and structural inequalities. The debate continues.

By way of comparison, the Institute of Race Relations in Britain have argued for antiracist education (which cannot but include the study of other cultures.) Their two curriculum booklets used by educators and students – *Roots of racism* and *Patterns of racism* – cover in a unique way the history of black-white relationship from a black perspective.

Roots of racism focusses on Europe's early history through the Industrial Revolution, colonialism, slavery and the 'genesis of racism'.

Patterns of racism illustrates the patterns of development of racism, i.e. racist 'culture' fostered by imperialism and bred in colonialism. This approach makes demands the *Black Studies* document does not make. The Institute's booklets call for 'the questioning and re-examination of basic assumptions and accepted values on the part of both teachers and students'. The writers start with the premise that racism exists in British society and must be countered (through education) with an analysis of the systemic nature and power relationships inherent in racism.

Black Studies two major aims are "to reveal to all students a part of Canadian reality that has been neglected" and "provide opportunities for

Black students to develop a sense of identity and a positive self-concept by gaining a better understanding of their own heritage".

There is no doubt that if and when used by students and teachers the Black Studies resource document may achieve such objectives. But, the gnawing question still begs, would this knowledge explain how prejudices are learned, continued, and maintained, to hold some groups in positions

of disadvantage in competitive situations? The task is to spread the word that the Black Studies resource document is not for the urban multi-ethnic school but for all educational settings in Ontario.

Jean Augustine M.Ed. is a Principal in a Senior Elementary School with the M.S.S.B. Toronto

How to Adjust the Educational System

Alok Mukherjee

Mark A. Chesler, Bunyan I Bryant, James E. Crowfoot *Making Desegregation Work: A Professional's Guide to Effecting Change*. Beverly Hills & London: Sage Publications, 1981.

Making Desegregation Work is described by its authors as a "guide to share...information on how different schools and communities are pursuing the challenges of desegregation" (p.9). The book is intended to help educators, educational administrators and communities plan and manage change resulting from desegregation.

On the fact of it, the book may not appear to be particularly relevant to the Canadian context. Desegregation is an alien concept for us. However, while desegregation may not be a part of the Canadian experience, racism – historical, institutional and individual – certainly is. The many people engaged in the struggle to combat this legacy of racism as it relates to education – be they professionals working in organizations or members of the community – will have no difficulty sharing the goals of desegregation as stated by Chesler et al. These include "two overarching goals:

- (1) maintain and improve the quality of educational services
- (2) advance toward racial equality and justice in schooling and their equally important but more operational goals:
- (3) direct the educational organization and profes-

sional staff in implementing effective desegregation

- (4) satisfy the needs of various consumer or client groups in the school system and use their resources in desegregation
- (5) prevent and manage the potential for conflict and crisis that accompany inequality and racial discrimination" (p.9).

Making Desegregation Work is, indeed, "a professional's guide". The book is divided into chapters that deal with the roles and responsibilities of each member of a typical school board hierarchy as well as those external sources with which this organization must interact, i.e. community group, the local media and the police. The twelve chapters examine the part that teaching and non-teaching staff, parents and students must play in the desegregation process, provide examples of the ways in which resulting crises and conflicts were dealt with in different schools, and include step-by-step exercises to develop an understanding of the implications of change, identify issues, and prepare for change.

The main strength of the book lies in its systematic approach to realizing change. The exercises can be profitably adapted to our Canadian needs and incorporated in the plans for the implementation of race relations policies that Canadian boards of education have increasingly begun to develop. They are designed to enable the

various change agents – school superintendent, principal, teacher, counsellor – to set out their goals, realize the obstacles, identify the resources available or needed, and develop their action plans.

The second strength of the book pertains to its recognition that people must begin with a clear understanding of where they themselves are in terms of attitudes, feelings and values. Thus each person is required to undergo a self-diagnostic assessment in preparation for affecting change.

Another strength of *Making Desegregation Work* has to do with its identification of roles that various members of the educational hierarchy play in the change process. Many well-intentioned plans fail because lines of accountability are not clearly laid out. The identification of roles helps clarify accountability. When this happens, the school principal emerges as a key “planner for change” (p. 46) who has to realize that “traditional management styles” with their “high priority an order and control, ‘keeping the lid on’” have to be replaced with styles that are more consonant with the changed multi-racial environment.

These strengths make the book a valuable tool for those developing race relations plans for Canadian boards of education. The book however, suffers from a few drawbacks.

While the self-diagnostic assessment exercises are very useful, they don't go far enough. One reason the development, let alone implementation, of meaningful and effective race relations policies has been so difficult is the lack of real commitment and motivation on the part of educators, and educational administrators. The book provides no exercises or strategies to build on the self-assessments. For race relations policies to succeed, it is absolutely essential that the anxieties, insecurities and preconceptions inevitably associated with change be dealt with in a sympa-

thetic and forthright manner. Commitment and motivation cannot be demanded or expected in an atmosphere of fear. The book pays insufficient attention to this area of organizational behaviour.

A second shortcoming of *Making Desegregation Work* is its failure to talk about the need for evaluation of programs or actions. The exercises may lead to the development of most elaborate actions plans or programs, but unless an ongoing evaluation and measurement mechanism is built into them, one will never know concretely whether the plans had their desired impact. This is an area in which the race relations activities of most Canadian school boards have fallen short. Some discussion and pointers by Chesler et al. would have been very useful.

Perhaps the most serious weakness of the book relates to its vision of a desegregated school. The authors recognize that – “schools are created in the image of relatively affluent and white groups...No attempt at desegregation will be effective unless it also redresses this bias in the cultural organization of schooling.” (p. 135) They further assert that “multicultural programming must be dealt with throughout all levels of school system change” (p. 136).

There can be no disagreement with these views. The fact of the matter is that Chesler et al. do not offer a radical vision of the multiracial school. Their concerns are very much technocratic; they are interested in system adjustment rather than in a fundamental questioning of the place of the school in maintaining existing social order. The most positive outcome of their proposed practice would be a tolerant and stable school system rather than a pro-active system that vigorously seeks to impart an anti-racist education.

Alok Mukherjee is Advisor - Race Relations, Toronto Board of Education.

Join the fight against racism!
Join the Urban Alliance on Race Relations

LETTERS

“Visible Minorities: Invisible”

I have found “Currents” to be of considerable interest and the review and analysis of the issues in the critically important area of race relations to be comprehensive and thoughtful. I am certain that this special edition will prove to be an important reference work for all people, agencies and organizations concerned about patterns and trends of race relations and the dynamics of discrimination in Ontario and Canada.

R.H. Ramsay, Minister of Labour
Queen's Park, Toronto

...I appreciate the time you have taken to bring your views and opinions on this very important and sensitive issue to my attention. I have read your report with interest and will keep your proposals very much in mind as our Caucus considers the report.

Hon. Michael H. Wilson, M.P.
Etobicoke Centre
House of Commons, Ottawa

I have finally gotten around to reading the Special issue of *Currents* which focuses on an analysis of submissions to the “Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society”. The author is to be congratulated for the tremendous amount of work required for summarizing the 65 briefs upon which the special issue is based. As indicated in the author's conclusion, all of us can learn a great deal from reading this summary.

I use the word “summary” deliberately since her work is not, strictly speaking, a “content analysis”. A content analysis is defined as “a qualitative technique for making quantitative comparisons”, or more generally, for classifying and counting the amount of words, or number of times devoted to particular events or ideas. A content analysis sets up various classification schemes which can then be applied to speeches or writings.

The author did not classify and count “words or ideas”. While we know ideas and opinions were expressed, we have no way of knowing precisely how many times each “word or idea”

was presented by how many of the 65 briefs. For example, how many and what types of groups expressed support for affirmative action, or the employment of Visible Minorities in the Mass Media? I would also like to know how frequently non-minority groups supported these controversial ideas as compared to other groups. I would not, in any way want to be interpreted as denigrating the usefulness and value of this work. But I believe that it would have been even more valuable had a content analysis, as usually defined, been achieved.

The wealth of assembled materials is very impressive however, and is available for others of us who may have the time and interest in performing a more in-depth and critical analysis. It is to be hoped that someone will be found who will accept that challenge.

Wilson A. Head,
Visiting Associate Professor
University of Victoria
Victoria, B.C.

As the researcher and author of “Visible Minorities: Invisible” which comprised the major part of the Spring issue of “Currents”, I am writing to express my appreciation for the work. I was informed, humbled, and moved by the depth and breadth of the realities and concerns expressed by authors of the briefs and testimonies submitted to the Special Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society.

Regretfully, however, I must protest the final form in which this piece has appeared. Many typesetting and layout errors are evident throughout the publication. Detailing those errors would take too much space for a “letter-to-the-editor”. Suffice it to say that *Currents* is far too important a journal to suffer from these kinds of problems.

Monica Armour, Ed.D.
Transcultural Consultant Services
Toronto, Ontario

Editor's Note:

Having participated in the editing of this special issue, Dr Armour is aware of the severe financial and time constraints we worked under. The editor regrets all errors.

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In the next issue:

POLICING IN A MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY

*Are the police master or servant of the public?
This issue explores the nature of police-minority relations.*